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A PAPYRUS CODEX OF THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

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IN the University of Michigan collection of papyri is a fragmentary codex (No. 917) of the Shepherd of Hermas, much damaged, yet with many pages almost intact. The portion preserved is confined to the Similitudes. Its range is from Sim. II. 9 (*χορηγούντες τοῖς πένησιν*) to Sim. IX. 5, 1, ending with *έδόκει*, so that it covers a little more than one fourth of the whole work. The book is undoubtedly older than most of the fragments of the Shepherd previously published. So far as I can judge from the available facsimiles, it is the oldest of all texts except the Berlin fragment (P. Berlin 5513) and, possibly, P. Oxyrh. 404, which would probably now be given an earlier date than that assigned to it in 1903 (late third or early fourth century). As far as the new MS. goes, it has preserved most of the sentences missing from the Athos manuscript and heretofore supplied from the Latin versions, and it has a large number of variant readings, of which many are of interest and value. Thus for extent, age, and textual importance, the Michigan codex seems likely to assume a position of great significance in the study of the Shepherd, and especially in the preparation of the much-desired new critical edition.

The purpose of this paper is merely to give a preliminary description of the manuscript, and to report a selected number of its readings for the benefit of scholars who are interested in this book. In doing so, I shall sometimes refer to the manuscript by the symbol M. The text will be published in full, with introduction and critical apparatus, in a volume of the

University of Michigan Studies (Humanistic Series), to be issued, it is hoped, within the next two years.

There are 62 pages of the text, some almost complete, others more or less defective. Twenty-four pages are contained in six double leaves, which belonged to the middle part of the book and were on that account less injured than most of the others. The remaining 38 are now on single leaves, though it is probable that all the leaves were originally double, but that these have been torn apart. Some of the single leaves are well preserved; but most of them have suffered some damage. Several have been pieced together from two or three fragments, so that comparatively little is lost; of others there remain only portions of the size of the palm of the hand or less. Two or three very small fragments are still unplaced.

The material of the manuscript is papyrus of fine quality, thin and well polished, still retaining much of its original toughness and pliability. Hence the injuries to it show themselves more in the form of jagged rents than in dry fractures and crumbling. The manipulation of the torn pages and the straightening of the folded and twisted shreds has been a tedious and delicate task, but necessary, since legible traces have been found upon very narrow and fragile projections. There are many wormholes, and not a few places where the surface has scaled off in little flakes, taking with it every trace of the writing. In several passages the scouring action of the sand has almost destroyed the originally bold and clear writing, so that only faint and dubious traces remain.

The margins have broken away to some extent from every leaf; but it is evident that the original height of the leaves must have been about 25 cm., and the width of the double leaves from 22.2 to 22.5 cm. Thus the book, made up of double leaves, was a tall volume a little more than twice as high as it was wide. The columns of writing are 19–20 cm. in height, and usually 8–9 cm. in width; but in the width there is greater variation, some columns barely reaching 7 cm. The number of lines to a column is commonly 30, but often 31 or 32, the range being from 27 to 34. The hand of the scribe is in

some places quite spreading, so that a wide variation appears in the number of letters in a line; sometimes the number is as high as 23, at others as low as 15. In restoring broken right-hand margins, I have taken into consideration the length of lines in the page in question rather than the general practice of the manuscript.

The pages are numbered in the middle of the upper margin by a hand different from that which wrote the text, and certainly later, as will be shown presently. A few of the numerals have been perfectly preserved, and more or less legible traces of others can be detected. With the aid of these numerals, and by taking account of the gaps in the text, it has been possible to restore the numbering of all the pages preserved. The first page was 55; the last, 120. A leaf containing pp. 61-62 (Sim. V. 2, 3-8) and another containing pp. 117-118 (IX. 3, 4-4, 4) have been lost.

The manner in which the book was put together is learned from the middle double leaves. The sequence of the writing upon them shows that, when folded, the recto of the papyrus was inside, the verso outside. The page-numbering was like that in modern books — the right-hand pages have odd numbers, the left-hand even. At least, this was certainly the case throughout the greater part of the extant leaves; an exception, to be mentioned later, suggests that the reverse method was used in the earlier part of the book. Up to the middle pages, the right-hand page is of course verso, the left-hand recto; after the middle this arrangement is reversed. Recto faces recto only in the case of the middle pages, which are preserved. The two leaves of this central folded sheet are now torn apart, but in such a way that a letter of a word belonging to the left-hand page is now on the right-hand piece, thus showing their original unity. A small piece of binding twine is preserved with one of the double leaves near the middle. The relation of the pages as regards recto and verso is the same throughout, which indicates that all the surviving part of the book belonged to a single quire. To include our 62 pages, this gathering must have had 17 double sheets; for, as noted above, two single sheets (four pages) are lost within the compass of our portion.

We may now consider the probable size of the book in its original form. The middle pages of our portion are 86 and 87; the numbering is certain, for the numerals 88 and 89 are preserved on the pages immediately following. Calculating on the basis of the extant portion, it appears that page 1 must have begun at a point near the end of Mand. IV. 1, or possibly early in Mand. IV. 2. I do not think that any allowance for error could carry the beginning of the numbered pages as far back even as the beginning of Mand. IV. 1. Page 1, therefore, was not the first page of the manuscript, for that probably began with the so-called Vision V, which is, properly considered, only an introduction to the Mandates. We must conclude that several leaves had been lost from the beginning of our codex before the page-numbers were added. Eleven or twelve pages (six leaves) of our manuscript would suffice to contain the part lost before the page-numbers were added.

The middle left-hand page of the surviving portion of the manuscript (p. 86) ends in Sim. VII. 3, near the end of the section. Now this is almost exactly the middle point of that portion of the Shepherd which is contained between the beginning of Vis. V and the end of the whole work, as may be seen by a glance at the *editio minor* of Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, which is closely printed and has no footnotes to disturb the equality of the pages. Thus the middle point of our quire is probably the middle point of the whole manuscript. This confirms the view that the whole manuscript consisted of one very large gathering of double leaves. In such a book any losses at the beginning are likely to be exactly equalled at the end, for the second half of an outer double-sheet would scarcely remain in place after the first had been torn away. On this supposition the injured book at the time when the page-numbers were added would contain the same number of leaves after the middle as before it, and we may calculate that the last page (p. 172) would end somewhere in Sim. IX. 30, a point which is about as far from the end of the whole work as page 1 is from the beginning of Vis. V.

To sum up, at the time of the numbering of the pages, the book probably consisted of a single gathering of 43 double

leaves, or 172 pages. It had originally contained six more sheets, and it is probable that a seventh sheet was outside of all, its first half not written, but serving to protect the written leaves. The second half of this outside sheet would have been available for writing at the end of the book, if needed; for with this method of bookmaking a scribe would find it difficult to estimate accurately the number of sheets that he would need, unless he was intending, and was able, to regulate his writing so perfectly as to follow his copy page for page. It was customary to take too many sheets rather than too few, and to allow the extra leaves at the end to remain blank or go into the binding, if there was a binding. On this matter, see the remarks of C. Schmidt in *Der erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Uebersetzung* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 7 f.

It may be suggested that instead of a huge gathering of 49 or 50 double leaves, there were three quires of 16, 18, and 16 double leaves respectively. This would still allow the middle of the surviving portion to be the middle of the whole manuscript; and upon this supposition it would not be necessary to assume that exactly as many leaves have been lost at the end as at the beginning. But if three such quires were placed side by side to make a book, two arrangements were possible. First, the quires might be fastened together by transverse sewing; and in this case the perforations would appear opposite one another in the inner margin of the better preserved leaves. But this we do not find. Secondly, the three quires might be secured firmly by vertical sewing to a substantial backing or binding, and some trace of this might reasonably be expected to survive in a quire so nearly complete as ours. But neither do we find any such traces. More important, however, is the fact that a good deal of evidence shows that not infrequently early papyrus books consisted of surprisingly large single gatherings. Thus, P. Oxyrh. 208, a double leaf from the Gospel of John, is a sheet from a book made up of 25 sheets in one quire. The papyrus manuscript of the Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection (shortly to be published by Professor Sanders in a volume of the University of Michigan Studies) consisted of a quire of 24 double leaves. Schmidt's Coptic manuscript

of First Clement of Rome had 21 double leaves, the Coptic-Gnostic manuscript in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin must have had 36 double leaves, and the manuscript of the Proverbs of Solomon in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin had 41. For information about the last two, which have not yet been published, I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Schmidt, in a letter to my colleague Professor Sanders.

On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether, after it became customary to make up books of a number of quires, the individual quires were ever as large as 16 or 18 double leaves. I know of no example of such a practice. The evidence of early vellum manuscripts shows that a quire of six double leaves was the largest used, and quires of three, four, or five sheets were more common; see, for example, Sanders's discussion of this subject in his *Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. VIII, p. 111). For the present, then, I am obliged to hold that in the case of the Hermas papyrus the observed facts are best explained by assuming that the book was in a single gathering of the unusual size of fifty double leaves. Whatever difficulty is felt on account of the awkwardness of such a book may be offset in some measure, if we bear in mind that a fifty-sheet gathering of so thin and fine a papyrus as that used in the Hermas would be little thicker than a gathering of twenty-five or thirty sheets of such coarser material as was often employed, especially for Coptic writings.

I have referred above to an inconsistency in the system of page-numbering, which requires a few words of comment. While the later and larger part of the manuscript is numbered in the same way as modern books, the earliest numerals that are preserved point to another method. One leaf, which in order to harmonize with the later pages should be pp. 59-60, bears the numeral ξ on the right-hand page and ξα on the over-leaf, or left-hand page. This must be an error of some sort, and errors in page-numbering are common enough. Two explanations are possible. The first would assume that the writer who numbered the pages started with the right-hand page as 1, made a blunder somewhere before page 60, then

somewhere after that point made a second (evidence of which is lost with the destruction of the upper margins), and so came back to the original system. Or it may be that when he began to number the manuscript, not only were several leaves gone, but the first page of the first surviving leaf had been so injured by handling that the writing was illegible, so that the enumerator disregarded this page. In that case his page 1 would have been the first left-hand page of the mutilated codex, and a single error after page 60 would have brought him to the other plan of numbering.

The manuscript is written in a fairly large, elegantly formed, sloping uncial hand, and the writer was evidently an accomplished scribe. There are a very few slight lapses into cursive style; for example, in cases where at the end of a word alpha is made without lifting the pen and is connected with a following iota. I have not found any specimen that very closely resembles this hand, but there are various points of resemblance to other sloping book-hands, as for example British Museum P. 126 (Il. ii-iv), which is, however, more strongly inclined than the writing of M. With P. Flor. 108 (Il. iii) it has also some features in common, notably the use of slight hooks or starting-strokes to the principal vertical or horizontal strokes of certain letters; but the hand of the Florentine fragment has fewer curves, and does not carry rho, upsilon, and phi far below the line, as M does. M has also some points of contact with the older Berlin fragment of Hermas (5513), and with P. Oxyrh. 232 (Demosthenes, *contra Timocr.*). These are all of the third century, and P. Flor. 108 may belong to the very beginning of the century. I see no reason to date the Michigan codex later than 250. It is now known that the sloping book-hand was well established in the second century, a recent proof being provided by the Michigan papyrus of Dioscurides (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 53, pp. 142 ff.), which was written some time before A.D. 190. Detailed discussion of the script of M must await full publication.

A few omissions on the part of the original scribe have been supplied by a corrector, who used a less steady, but rounder and more upright hand. There are also some places where,

after the original writing had grown dim through rubbing, some letters were retraced. This was probably later than the time of the corrections just mentioned, though the retracing is also done in a vertical script. A few marginal notes occur. Two of them are probably glosses, though their purpose is rendered uncertain by the mutilation of the margin, but they may be in the corrector's hand. Two others, also of uncertain import, are, I think, in a different hand and still later.

In two places a few words are marked for deletion by dots above the letters, possibly placed by the original hand. In three other cases the first writer struck out something he had written, using one or more strokes to indicate deletion, and in one of these places he entered another reading above the line.

The usual theological abbreviations occur — $\overline{\theta}\varsigma$, $\overline{\kappa}\varsigma$, $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$, the first two frequently, also $\overline{\nu\iota\varsigma}$, $\overline{\nu\nu}$. A final nu at the end of a line is represented in six cases by a short stroke above the preceding vowel. There are no accents, and only the rough breathing occurs. It is frequent, though not regular, with the relative pronoun $\delta\varsigma$ and is also found with forms of $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and with $\xi\xi$. Elision is twice marked by the apostrophe. Initial iota usually has two dots above it. They are also found above the iota of $\sigma\acute{\nu}\nu\iota\epsilon$ and over the initial upsilon in several cases. Iota adscript is not used. Nu movable occurs frequently before both vowels and consonants; it is rarely omitted before a vowel.

In matters of orthography the manuscript is very good. There are many cases of $\epsilon\iota$ for ι , but they are so nearly confined to cases where ι is long as to suggest that the scribe was guided by deliberate method. In several words $\epsilon\iota$ for ι occurs regularly, as $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$, $\theta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\beta\omega$, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\nu$. The reverse error, ι for $\epsilon\iota$, is found only twice. The ν of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ - and $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ - in composition is preserved without change so regularly as to justify its restoration in places where the text is defective. The older spelling $\delta\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ is found in Sim. VI. 2, 7; the spelling with $\alpha\iota$ should no longer be retained on the poor authority of the Athous.

The high point is the only punctuation. A coronis formed of a down-stroke and a long straight or lightly curved stroke to the right is used at the end of each Similitude and in two

other places where there is an important pause, namely, at the end of Sim. VIII. 6, 3 and Sim. VIII. 8, 5. In these cases the remainder of the line in which the paragraph ends is left blank.

The headings of the Similitudes are in some cases well preserved, in others almost destroyed. They occupy but a line each, with a little more interlinear space than usual above and below. For Sim. III we have $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta[\omicron\lambda]\eta\ \tilde{\gamma}$. For Sim. IV, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\ [\pi\alpha]\rho\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$, the numeral being torn away. For Sim. V, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\ \tilde{\epsilon}$. For Sim. VI, only a few traces of the end of the heading, including the stroke over the numeral, are left; for Sim. VII, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta[\omicron\lambda]\eta$, the numeral being lost through abrasion of the surface; for Sim. VIII only the numeral $\tilde{\eta}$. The beginning of Sim. IX is lost. These headings show that the numbering of the Similitudes was the same as that in our editions. Schmidt's opinion that in the Egyptian tradition the numbering of the Similitudes was higher by one unit seems to hold only for copies of later date than M (*Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin Academy, 1909, p. 1078).

The text of the Michigan codex is important for three reasons. First, it has preserved most of the sentences which the Athous omits, and which are represented in our editions by bracketed reconstructions derived from the Latin versions and other sources. Secondly, it presents many readings which differ from the Athous, and vary not a little in their relations to the two Latin versions, the Ethiopic, and the quotations from pseudo-Athanasius and Antiochus. In a few important places the papyrus has preserved the original text where all other sources have erred; in very many it presents a text at least as good intrinsically as that of the Athous and superior in age. Even in the least interesting class of the variants of M — those which present a synonym, variants in word-order, omission of connectives, etc., the manuscript throws light upon the style of the author. Thirdly, the papyrus preserves many peculiarities of the vulgar idiom which do not appear in the Athous text. In this respect the difference between the two manuscripts is so marked that we can scarcely doubt that the Athous represents a text deliberately revised (however incom-

pletely) in the effort to conform it to accepted literary standards. Some of the grammatical peculiarities of M are rare enough to constitute valuable additions to our knowledge of the common idiom of the second century.

A number of illustrations of the text of M follow, arranged according to the divisions just suggested. For convenience of printing I have restored several letters without brackets, and have allowed several broken letters to appear without the usual dots underneath them; but this has been done only where the remainder of the word places the reading beyond all doubt. In the complete publication the actual state of the text will be scrupulously indicated throughout. L¹ and L² are used below for references to the two Latin versions.

1. *The Omitted Sentences.* At the end of Sim. II, M has ο γαρ συν[ιω]ν τουτο δυνησεται διακονησαι [τι α]γαθον. P. Berl. 5513 has και διακονησαι τι, omitting αγαθον, with the old Latin version. P. Oxyrh. 1172, with L², Ethiop., Copt., has αγαθον; but L² *operari*, i.e. εργαζεσθαι.

In V. 3, 2, the text of M is much injured; but it had [αυ]τω, not τω θω, and τηρ[ουντων] where editors supply φυλασσουντων.

V. 7, 4: αλλα τοιωνν φυλ[ασσε και ο κς] παντως πολυσπλ[αγχνος ων α]υ[τα] ιασεται. Even the υ of αυτα is uncertain, but no other letter corresponds so well to the traces. There was certainly not room for σεαυτον after φυλασσε. L¹ has *dominus omnipotens*.

VI. 1, 4: μηδεν ουν προστιθεντες πολυ κοψετ[ε] τω[ν προτ]ερων υμων αμαρτ[ιων]. The ψ and τ of κοψετε are injured, but there can scarcely be a doubt of the reading. *Nihil ergo adicientes plurimum ex prioribus recidetis* L¹. *Nihil igitur adicientes exceditis a prioribus peccatis vestris* L². Perhaps *exceditis* is an error for *excidetis*.

VI. 1, 6. Like the Athous, both Latin versions, and the Ethiopic, M omits the sentence which editors supply from pseudo-Athanasius.

VI. 2, 3. After μετανοια ζωης ουκ εστιν M has οτι προσεθηκαν κατ ονομα κυ βλασφημιαν. Otherwise its reading differs only in minute points from the reconstruction in Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn.

VI. 3, 6: οταν ουν μετανοη[σω]σιν τοτε αναβαινει επι την καρδιαν

αυτων [τα] ε[ργα τ]α πονηρα [α επρα]ξαν και τοτε δοξαζουσιν τον θν̄ οτι δικαιος κριτης δικαιως επαθεν παντα εκαστος κατα τας πραξεις αυτου τα δε λοιπα δουλευουσιν κτλ. κριτης stands at the end of a line, and και, or εστιν και, has apparently been omitted by accident.

VI. 4, 2. M, like Athous, omits the bracketed clause, and it has lost the beginning of the next clause, αυτους (τους in Athous) being the first surviving word. May not the clause supplied from the Latin versions be a bit of translator's¹ padding, which never existed in the Greek? But, if so, does εδει γαρ adequately imply dissent? αλλ εδει γαρ is a possibility, so far as space is concerned.

VIII. 1, 4. Here M solves an old difficulty, and proves that no words need to be supplied. The reading is αφες δε φησιν παντα ιδης και δηλωθησεται κτλ. αφ ης of the Athous is merely a corruption of αφες. The idiom ἄφες with the subjunctive of the first person is well known; compare Matt. 7, 4, and Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, p. 931. But the extension of the idiom to the second person is new to me. Perhaps we may compare an Irish turn of speech, "Let you come in and I'll make you a cup of tea."

VIII. 1, 17: ετεροι δε επεδιδουν χλωρας και παραφναδας εχουσας και ουτοι χωρις εστησαντο. και επι τουτοις ο αγγελος λειαν ιλαρος εγενετο.

VIII. 3, 6: αποκριθεις μοι λεγει οι εστεφανωμενοι ουτοι εισιν οι μετα του διαβολου παλαισαντες και νεικησαντες αυτον.

VIII. 11, 3. The earlier part of the bracketed sentence is much injured, and its restoration uncertain. The latter part reads πορευσονται ταις επιθυμiais του αιωνος τουτου κατακρινουσιν εαυτους εις θανατον.

IX. 1, 9. The passage is defective, but it is clear that M had θανασιμα, and it probably omitted τους before ανθρωπους, in both respects supporting the Athous.

IX. 3, 1. The spacing in M allows room for only one of the phrases with επανω, not both; unfortunately the genitive after επανω is lost.

2. *Miscellaneous Variants.* In III. 2, M omits εν τω αιωνι τουτω after αμαρτωλοι, and in III. 3 the last clause, αλλα παντες ομοιοι εισιν, is also omitted.

IV. 2: φανεροι εσονται οι δουλευοντες κτλ. M; φανερωθησονται Athous. πασι φανεροποιηθησονται M, παντες φανερωθησονται Athous, *omnibus* L¹ L².

IV. 4: ως ξηρα ξυλα κατακαυθησονται και αφανεροι εσονται M; Athous omits ξηρα, and has φανεροι. Both Latin translators have *arida* (not noted in Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn); but both had φανεροι in the originals from which they worked. But surely αφανεροι is better after κατακαυθησονται. The phrase αφανεροι εσονται was probably used, however inaccurately, as an equivalent of αφανισθησονται.

VI. 2, 7: και ολως αναπασιν αυτοις ουκ εδιδει (*sic*) M. Athous omits ολως, but it was read by pseudo-Athanasius and by the Ethiopic translator.

VII. 1. Athous has τον ποιμενα τον τιμωρητην, which is supported by the Latin versions. The Ethiopic has *angelum castigationis*. The first hand of M wrote ποιμενα, then struck it out and wrote αγγελον above the line.

VIII. 2, 7: ειτα δε πειρασωμεν και υδωρ αυταις παραχειν Athous. M has πειρασωμεν, but the last three letters were stricken out, apparently by the first hand. It also has παραχω. L² has *deinde temptabo et suffundam eis aquam*, L¹ *tentabo enim* etc., Ethiopic *sed paulisper agetum templemus et irrigemus aqua*.

VIII. 3, 4: γνωση δε αυτοις παντας Athous; ιδε αυτοις παντας M.

VIII. 6, 2 *ad init.* Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn write διατι ουν, Athous ουτοι ουν. M has οτι ουν, which is evidently the text corruptly rendered in Athous. For οτι as direct interrogative, cf. Robertson, *Grammar*, pp. 729 f.

VIII. 6, 2 last clause: μηποτε παλιν βεβηλωσωσι το ονομα αυτου Athous, βλασφημησωσιν τον νομον αυτου M; L¹ L² *legem*, Ethiopic *nomen*.

VIII. 9, 4: ταχινη οφειλει ειναι Athous; χρηζει M.

IX. 5, 1: και εγενετο ανοχη της οικοδομης Athous; ανοχη τις της οικοδομης M; *et quaedam dilatio facta est* L¹.

3. *Grammatical Peculiarities.* In addition to instances which appear under the two preceding heads, the following may be cited to show how often M gives vulgar forms or constructions, and the Athos text a more correct language.

V. 4, 2: ηκουκως M; ακηκως Athous.

V. 4, 3: *ην* (subjunctive) M; *η* Athous.

VI. 1, 6: *εν τοις προβασι* M; *προβατοις* Athous.

VIII. 1, 7 f.: *ισταεσθαι, εστανοντο* M; *ιστασθαι, ισταντο* Athous.

VIII. 3, 5: *ευηρεστηκαν και τετηρηκαν* M; *ευηρεστησαν και τετηρηκασι* Athous. But M has *τετηρηκασι* in VIII. 3, 3.

VIII. 4, 6: *ημισους ξηρους* M; *ημιξηρους* Athous.

IX. 5, 1: *αναπαηναι* M; *αναπανθηναι* Athous.

In view of the extent of the manuscript and the great number of its variant readings, I shall not venture in this preliminary report to state definite conclusions about the relations of its text. Editors have usually found that texts derived from early papyri do not ally themselves exclusively with any other single authority for the author in question, and M is no exception. The specimens cited above show that it agrees now with one of the versions, now with another; and that it sometimes supports the Athous against the testimony of the translations. However, M certainly shows, as other papyrus fragments have done, the untrustworthy character of the Athos text when unsupported; and the text of M itself, being generally excellent in spite of occasional errors and omissions, may prove to be our best authority for the portion of the Shepherd that it covers, especially when, as is often the case, it has the support of the old Latin version.

In matters of language and style, the testimony of the Michigan codex seems particularly important; for in a book carefully executed by so skilful a scribe we can scarcely explain the numerous vulgarisms as mere lapses of an ill-educated copyist. With equal or greater probability it can be maintained that M gives us our most faithful representation of the author's own idiom — an idiom distasteful to later ages of the church and hence retouched here and there until it took the form which we read in the Athos manuscript.

LITERATURE ON CHURCH HISTORY

IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1914-1920

GUSTAV KRÜGER
PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN GIESSEN, GERMANY

IV. THE CHURCH IN MODERN TIMES. (PART TWO) ¹

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ABBREVIATIONS

BFTh	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie. Gütersloh.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft. Munich.
HPBl	Historisch-Politische Blätter. Munich.
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift. Munich and Berlin.
IkZ	Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift. Bern.
KA	Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen, hrsg. von Ulrich Stutz. Stuttgart.
KÅ	Kyrkohistoriska Årsskrift. Upsala.
NAKG	Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkegeschiedenis. The Hague.
NkZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift. Erlangen and Leipzig.
NTHt	Norsk Theologisk Tidsskrift. Christiania.

¹ Part One of this survey of writings on the Church in Modern Times was published in this REVIEW, July, 1924.

RV	Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher. Tübingen.
ThLz	Theologische Literaturzeitung. Göttingen.
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift. Tübingen.
ThRev	Theologische Revue. Münster.
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Gotha.
ThT	Theologisch Tijdschrift. Leyden.
ZLB	Zeit- und Lebensbilder. Munich-Gladbach.
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche. Tübingen.

III. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TWENTIETH

1. ROMAN CATHOLICISM

a. *The Papacy*

GENERAL. *Bastgen, Hubert*, Die römische Frage. Dokumente und Stimmen. 3 vols. xiii, 467; xxvi, 864; xii, 332; vii, 256 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1917, 1918, 1919. — *Ebers, Godehard Josef*, Der Papst und die römische Kurie. I. Wahl, Ordination und Krönung des Papstes (Quellensammlung zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht hrsg. von Eduard Eichmann 3). viii, 216 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1916. — *Eickholt, Klemens August*, Roms letzte Tage unter der Tiara. Erinnerungen eines römischen Kanonikers aus den Jahren 1868 bis 1870. 319 pp., 8 figs. Freiburg, Herder, 1914. — *Hoeber, Karl*, Der Papst und die römische Frage in religiös-kirchlicher, geschichtlicher und völkerrechtlicher Beziehung. 66 pp. Cologne, Bachem, 1916. — *Holmquist, Hjalmar*, Påfvedömet's historia, 1800-1920. 227 pp. Stockholm, Kristliga Studentrörelsen, 1920. — *Roloff, E. A.*, Die "Römischen Briefe vom Konzil" (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 35, 1914, 204-254). — *Sägmüller, Johannes Baptist*, Der apostolische Stuhl und der Wiederaufbau des Völkerrechts und Völkerfriedens (Das Völkerrecht 6). 120 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1919. — *Schlözer, Kurd von*, Römische Briefe 1864-1869. xii, 380 pp. Stuttgart and Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1913. 11th and 12th editions, 1922. — *Schneider, Johannes W.*, Het probleem van den paus in het volkenrecht. Amsterdam dissertation. 125 pp. 's Hertogdenbush, Teuling, 1918.

BENEDICT XV. *Pöllmann, Ansgar*, Benedict XV aus der Familie Della Chiesa. 323 pp. Munich-Diessen, Huber, 1915. — *Rundschreiben* Unseres Heiligsten Vaters Benedict XV, durch göttliche Vorsehung Papst. (Authorized edition. Latin and German text.) 7 parts. Freiburg, Herder, 1915-1923. — *Strüker, Arnold*, Die Kundgebungen Papst Benedicts XV zum Weltfrieden. (Original Latin text with German translation.) xii, 143 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. — *Waal, Anton de*, Der neue Papst, unser heiliger Vater Benedict XV. vii, 174 pp. Hamm, Breer, 1915.

PIUS X. *Commer, Ernst*, Pius X (Divus Thomas 1, 1914, 394-444). — *Hilling, Nikolaus*, Die Reformen des Papstes Pius X auf dem Gebiete der kirchenrechtlichen Gesetzgebung. Vol. III. xiv, 136 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1915. (Vols, I and II appeared in 1909 and 1912.) — *Rundschreiben* Un-

seres Heiligsten Vaters Pius X, durch göttliche Vorsehung Papst. (Authorized edition. Latin and German text. Second and final collection.) Freiburg, Herder, 1916.

CODEx JURIS CANONICI. *Codex juris canonici*, Pii X pontificis maximi iussu digestus, Benedicti Papae XV auctoritate promulgatus, praefatione eminentis Petri cardinalis Gasparri et indice analytico-alphabetico auctus. li, 869 pp. Freiburg, Herder, and Regensburg, Pustet, 1919 [1920]. New edition, 1923. — *Knecht, August*, Das neue kirchliche Gesetzbuch. Seine Geschichte und Eigenart (Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg 35). 71 pp. Strasburg, Trübner, 1918. — *Leitner, Martin*, Handbuch des katholischen Kirchenrechts, auf Grund des neuen Kodex vom 28. Juni 1917. 480 pp. Regensburg and Rome, Pustet, 1918. — *Pera-thoner, Anton*, Kurze Einführung in das neue kirchliche Gesetzbuch. Two parts. iv, 191, 151 pp. Brixen, Weger, 1919. — *Pöschl, Arnold*, Kurzgefasstes Lehrbuch des katholischen Kirchenrechts auf Grund des neuen kirchlichen Gesetzbuches. x, 358 pp. Gratz and Leipzig, Moser, 1918. — *Scharnagl, Anton*, Das neue kirchliche Gesetzbuch. iv, 136 pp.; 2d edition, viii, 142 pp. Munich and Regensburg, Manz, 1918. — *Stutz, Ulrich*, Der Geist des Codex iuris canonici (KA 92, 93). x, 366 pp. Stuttgart, Enke, 1918.

THE so-called Roman question — that is, the question whether the situation caused by the Italian occupation of Rome in 1870, whereby the Pope was deprived of his territorial possessions, is compatible with the freedom required for the exercise of his high office by the head of the Catholic Church — was a matter of deep concern, in particular to German Catholics, during the World War. It was hoped in all seriousness that the victory of the Central Powers would bring about a positive solution to this question and restore the political independence of the Pope. Such works, among others, as those of *Hoeber* and *Sägmüller*, and especially *Bastgen's* three thick volumes, bear witness to this feeling. But the last-named work is a disappointment. The author has, to be sure, assembled a vast amount of material in contemporary documents, covering the whole period from the rise of the Papal temporal power until to-day. He is also to be commended for devoting but few pages to the period before the French Revolution and laying his main stress on the restoration of the Papal State in the nineteenth century and its development down to the present, so that the second half of the second volume is entirely devoted to the years of the World War. But he has been criti-

cized on all hands for giving his documents and extracts from periodicals and newspapers with no such fullness as the size of his work and his own announcements gave reason to expect. He has also taken his task too easily — for instance, merely copying out the articles of the “Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung” (important as that organ is for ecclesiastical questions), instead of going to original sources or citing other journals, as he ought to have done. And his reproduction of the material does not conform to the standards of scholarship. Taking the work, however, for what it is, it is not to be denied that, especially in the last parts, it brings together a great deal that cannot be so conveniently found elsewhere; and in spite of the defects named the book is well worth buying and deserves a place in every considerable library. — That the problem of the status of the Pope in international law has also been under consideration by the Catholics of Holland, is shown by *Schneider's* discussion. He views the temporal sovereignty of the Pope as inseparable from his spiritual authority; and consequently sees in the Italian law of guaranty a mere act of violence, and in the exclusion of the Pope from the Peace Conference and the League of Nations not only a gross injustice but a bad blunder.

Strictly speaking, these observations take us beyond the bounds set for the present survey of historical writings. On the history of the papacy in the nineteenth century but little has been published in the years here covered. — *Holmquist's* valuable monograph brings out the broader aspects of the development of the papacy, and at the same time aims to present a concrete picture of the spirit of Rome. — Of importance is *Roloff's* article on the celebrated “Roman Letters from the Council,” of the years 1869–1870, the author of which used the pseudonym “Quirinus,” but was soon widely known to be Lord Acton. The letters give an extraordinarily graphic picture of the proceedings from the point of view of the opposition. Their correctness as a report has been repeatedly questioned from the other side, most recently by the latest historian of the Vatican Council, the Jesuit Granderath. Roloff has been so fortunate as to be able to test them by manu-

script evidence, and to prove them trustworthy, for he had access to the letters to Acton from members of the Council, the originals of which are in the possession of Lady Acton. These were printed in a few copies by Spottiswood in London soon after the Council, and were open to Friedrich in the preparation of his History of the Council, but have never until now been used for their full importance. From them it appears that Acton's informants, primarily Strossmayer and Dupanloup, together with Connolly, Hefele, Hohenlohe, and some others who only occasionally sent him information, were from their position and the circumstances of the case thoroughly well informed as to the events of the Council; and that they provided him with information of unimpeachable value, or at any rate of quite unique significance, which even official publications do not necessarily disprove, nullify, or supersede. Precisely for the inner history of the Council, which the official documents do not reveal, but which is after all the most important aspect, the "Roman Letters" remain the best authority. Incidentally, a letter of Hefele, printed by Roloff, gives the often demanded proof that a member of the Council, even in violation of the papal oath of secrecy, could give a collaborator of the Letters information of the greatest moment. (See also below, pp. 151 f., on Friedrich.)

Schlözer's and *Eickholt's* books are rather memoirs than history, but both deserve attention. The letters of the Prussian secretary of embassy at Rome, *Kurd von Schlözer*, have been widely read, as the many editions show, and they justify this interest, for they are full of the keenest and most intelligent observations on country, people, and society, and especially on the Pope and the curia. It is not too much to say that these letters give more complete information on conditions at the Roman court before the collapse of the temporal power, and on the leading personalities (Pius X, Antonelli, and many another) than can be had from any other source. We must not, of course, take without deduction all the sarcastic judgments of this witty causeur, but Schlözer shows everywhere the eye of the real historian that he proved himself to be in his historical studies on the

German Baltic territories and other subjects.² *Eickholt's* Reminiscences are the product of a much simpler, but a loyal and attractive, mind. The author was one of those young Germans, mostly of noble birth, who were drawn to Rome in the sixties by a desire to defend the Holy Father and his temporal power, and entered the papal army. He served in the artillery from 1868 to 1870, survived the final storms, and chats agreeably and vividly about his experiences.

The collection of texts by *Ebers* has already been noticed in my article in this REVIEW for 1922 (vol. XV, pp. 351 ff.). The law of papal election now in effect, laid down by the constitutions of Leo XIII (1882) and Pius X (1904), is included in it.

The accounts of Pope Benedict XV by *Pöllmann* and *de Waal* — the latter especially familiar with Rome (see below p. 157) — make no claim to a critical or definitive character. Of *Pöllmann*, a competent critic (Max Bierbaum in *ThRev* 14, 1915, 414) says that he is rather a poet, loving symbolism and feeling, than a calm observer. — On the other hand, the series of papal encyclicals, published by Herder and authorized by the holy see, deserves express notice. — Valuable also, though not official, is *Strüker's* collection of papal documents on the peace question. In the first part are printed all of Benedict's public utterances on world-peace, taken from the *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*; in the second, a selection of official communications from the Pope to individuals, chiefly archbishops and bishops.

The important reforms of ecclesiastical law under Pius X have led *Hilling* to write a comprehensive treatise on this theme, on a foundation of adequate learning; to his general survey of the whole system he has added an account of the motives and inner relations of the separate laws, severally and mutually. This is supplemented by the very useful source-book for the actually valid ecclesiastical law published by the same author in fourteen parts (Bonn, Hanstein, 1914–1918) and

² Compare Fritz Vögeler, *Schlözers römische Briefe* (HZ 121, 1920, 93–112). The letters written by Schlözer in the years during which he was ambassador have just been published: *Kurd von Schlözer, Letzte römische Briefe*. ix, 221 pp. Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1924.

intended primarily as a basis for seminar practice. This collection contains especially laws from the pontificate of Pius X, and in fact these are of decisive significance for the consummation of this whole development in the *Codex Juris Canonici*.

The appearance of the new ecclesiastical law book must not be omitted from a review of books on church history, for this event is of such far-reaching consequence that future generations are likely to regard the year 1917 as an epoch in the history of the Catholic Church. The codex, as *Stutz* (p. 159) succinctly expresses it, puts the old law of the Catholic world-church on a new basis, discards entirely what is obsolete, revitalizes by a change of form what had become partly antiquated, and assembles with such completeness all that had approved itself that this book, including its appendices with certain special decrees of older popes, can be expected to suffice for the practical needs of the church in time to come. To introduce a student into the spirit of this truly admirable piece of work scarcely anyone could be so well fitted as *Stutz*, the Protestant professor of ecclesiastical law at Berlin, who has for decades candidly and learnedly (in his own words [p. 78], "with the eye of a biologist") followed the development of the Vatican church law, as distinguished from the mediæval and the Tridentine systems. He gives first a sketch of the formation of the Codex, engaging on the way in a critical discussion of Cardinal Gasparri's preface; then shows what new matter the Codex contains (not so much as might be expected from a superficial knowledge of the circumstances); the outward form which common Catholic ecclesiastical law receives in it; its attitude to the outside world, especially to non-catholics and to the state; the almost complete fulfilment which it provides of the desires expressed at the Vatican Council of 1870; its relation to the law of the past; and the significance of its publication in the history of Law. Separate essays treat of the points of contact with the civil law; of the regulations for primates and bishops; and finally of the vicar general, that general auxiliary officer of the bishop in the field of *jurisdictio in spiritualibus ac temporalibus* whose position has become especially important under the new code. The treatment is

everywhere supplied with references and supported by an abundance of other material.—The *Codex* itself has been made conveniently available for general use in the handy edition published by Herder. This edition, authorized by the Pope, is the only one at present, except the original Vatican edition and those of Cardinal Gasparri. Unauthorized reprinting is made impossible for Catholic publishers by the note: *nemini liceat sine venia sanctae sedis hunc codicem denuo imprimere aut in aliam linguam vertere*, while for others, under the added words: *ius proprietatis vindicabitur*, it can be prevented by the aid of the strong arm of the state. Herder's edition is identical with the Roman, except that Gasparri's references to sources are not reprinted. — The literature on the subject has grown rapidly in volume, some of the works treating of the codex as a whole, some dealing with separate topics. Only a small part of it has been included in our bibliography. For further details, J. B. Sägmüller's articles in the *Theologische Revue* (vol. 17, 1918, 337–346; 18, 1919, 337–343, 389–391; 19, 1920, 249–256) will give satisfactory information.

b. *Missions*

Arens, Bernhard, Handbuch der katholischen Missionen. xix, 418 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. — *Metzler, Johannes*, Die apostolischen Vikariate des Nordens, ihre Entstehung, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Verwalter. xxiv, 337 pp. Paderborn, Bonifacius-Druckerei, 1919.

The aim of *Arens* is to give brief and accurate information on the most important practical questions of Catholic missions. In eight chapters he treats of the supervision of the work (pope, congregation of cardinals, heads of the companies of missionaries, supervision on the mission-field); of the missionaries themselves and their field of labor; of missionary training and training-schools (with an appendix on German and Austrian companies and their institutions); of the financing of missions; of missionary societies; of missionary journals; of modern efforts to develop a science of missions; and of intercourse between home and missions. The statistics are well arranged in 67 tables, and the book forms an indispensable work of reference. — An instructive chapter of post-reformation Catholic

church history deals with the history of the northern missions, that is, of missions in those non-catholic countries of northern Europe which come under the Propaganda. *Metzler*, who is writing a history of northern Jesuit missions, describes in the present work the origin and development of the apostolic vicariates for the north, and the lives of the vicars. There has been a vicariate for the north only since 1645 (or 1667). For a time (1709–1780) divided by reason of the great extent of its territory, it was later reunited, but with a separate vicariate for Sweden, which has been independent since 1783. From 1855 to 1869 a special prefecture existed for the far north (*praefectura poli arctici*), but on the reorganization of the northern missions it was not thought best to continue this. At present there are: (1) the apostolic vicariate of Sweden, (2) the apostolic prefecture and apostolic vicariate of Norway, and (3) Denmark (with Iceland), besides (4) the apostolic vicariate of the North German missions and the apostolic prefecture of Schleswig-Holstein. *Metzler's* account is founded throughout on the original sources. The statistical appendices, including brief biographical notes on the papal nuncios in Cologne (1584–1794), Brussels, and Poland (1622–1793), are of interest.

c. Religious Orders

Hillengass, Alfred, Die Gesellschaft vom heiligen Herzen Jesu [Société du Sacré Cœur de Jésus] (KA 89). xvi, 232 pp. 1917. — *Sträter, Augustin*, Die Jesuiten in der Schweiz, 1814–1847. 67 pp. Einsiedeln, Benziger, 1914.

An important addition to the literature on the congregations is *Hillengass's* work on the Société du Sacré Cœur, that widely influential religious sisterhood which was founded in Paris in 1800 by members of the Pères de la Foi, and in 1802 came under the guidance of the energetic and capable Magdalène-Sophie Barat († 1865; beatified 1908). *Hillengass*, using in part newly available sources, describes the history, organization, and rule of the society, and takes particular pains to set in the right light its supposed connection with the Society of Jesus. In the opinion of his critics, with whom the present writer agrees, he goes too far when he denies such a connection entirely. *Tournély*, the actual founder of the order, designated

"les Dames du Sacré Cœur" as daughters of St. Ignatius, and their articles of constitution are based on those of the Jesuits. A valuable feature of the book is the printing of a number of documents which are otherwise difficult of access. — *Sträter* depicts the activity of the Jesuits in the Swiss cantons from 1814 to their expulsion after the so-called Sonderbundskrieg in 1847. His small book is of an apologetic character.

d. *Roman Catholicism in Germany*

1. General

Bastgen, Hugo, Dalbergs und Napoleons Kirchenpolitik in Deutschland. x, 370 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1917. — *Buchberger, Michael*, Die Kulturarbeit der katholischen Kirche in Bayern. 294 pp. Munich-Regensburg, Verlagsanstalt vormals Manz, 1920. — *Duhr, Bernhard*, Das Jesuitengesetz. Sein Abbau und seine Aufhebung. viii, 166 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1919. — *Freisen, Joseph*, Verfassungsgeschichte der katholischen Kirche Deutschlands in der Neuzeit (Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaften 2, 7). xxiv, 455 pp. Leipzig and Berlin, Teubner, 1916. — *Hansen, Josef*, Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850, gesammelt und herausgegeben. Vol. I. 1830-1845. xvi, 63, 944 pp. Essen, Baedeker, 1919; Preussen und Rheinland von 1815 bis 1915. vii, 270 pp. Bonn, Marcus & Weber, 1919. — *Kaas, Ludwig*, Die geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit der katholischen Kirche in Preussen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (KA 84/85, 86/87). Two vols. xl, 488; x, 482 pp. 1915; Das Trierer apostolische Vikariat in Ehrenbreitstein (Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte 38, kanonistische Abteilung 7, 1917, 138-283). Reprint, 153 pp. Weimar, Boehlau, 1917. — *Kissling, Johannes Baptista*, Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reiche. Vol. III. vi, 474 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1918. (Vol. I, 1911; vol. II, 1913); Geschichte der deutschen Katholikentage. Vol. I. xvi, 506 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1920 (Vol. II, iv, 442 pp. 1923). — *Krose, Hermann Anton*, Kirchliches Handbuch für das katholische Deutschland. Vols. V-IX. xx, 521; xx, 502; xx, 454; xx, 478; xx, 459 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1914-1920. — *Lieberknecht, Paul*, Geschichte des Deutschkatholizismus in Kurhessen. Marburg dissertation. viii, 116 pp. Marburg, Elwert, 1915. — *Lobmiller, Hans*, Der Staat und das katholische Ordenswesen in Württemberg seit der Säkularisation bis zur Gegenwart. Heidelberg dissertation. xiii, 70 pp. Rottenburg, Bader, 1914. — *Mayer, Michael*, Bayerns Bevölkerung in konfessioneller Schichtung und Entwicklung seit den letzten hundert Jahren. Munich dissertation. viii, 84 pp. Munich, Schweitzer, 1917. — *Meyer, Max Helmut*, Die Weltanschauung des Zentrums in ihren Grundlinien. Dissertation. iv, 140 pp. Leipzig, Gressner & Schramm, 1919. — *Patin, Wilhelm August*, Das bayerische Religionsedikt vom 26. Mai 1818 und seine Grundlagen. Erlangen dissertation. vii, 116 pp. Erlangen, Junge, 1919. — *Pfeilschifter, Georg*, ed., Deutsche Kultur, Katholizismus und Weltkrieg. viii, 499 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1915. — *Rhein, Franz*, Zehn Jahre "Historisch-Politische Blätter" 1838-1848. Bonn dissertation. 79 pp. Obercassel, Heeg,

1916. — *Rösch, Adolf*, Der Kulturkampf in Hohenzollern. ii, 128 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1916. — *Ruck, Erwin*, Die römische Kurie und die deutsche Kirchenfrage auf dem Wiener Kongress. Program. 170 pp. Basel, Finckl, 1917. — *Schwahn, Lukas*, Die Beziehungen der katholischen Rheinlande und Belgiens in den Jahren 1830 bis 1840 (Strassburger Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte hrsg. von Martin Spahn 11). xx, 208 pp. Strassburg, Herder, 1914. — *Schrörs, Heinrich*, Deutscher und französischer Katholizismus in den letzten Jahrzehnten. xv, 228 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. — *Sträter, Augustin*, Die Vertreibung der Jesuiten aus Deutschland (Stimmen aus Maria Laach, Ergänzungsheft 146). iii, 93 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1914. — *Wendorf, Hermann*, Die Fraktion des Zentrums im preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus 1859–1867 (Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen hrsg. von Gerhard Seeliger u. a., 40). vii, 140 pp. Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer, 1916.

The powerful growth of the Catholic Church in Germany³ during the nineteenth century is a phenomenon of such profound significance that it keeps attracting the attention of historians, and a number of valuable works on the subject have appeared in the period of our survey.⁴ We will begin with those which take as their theme the relation of church and state, that is, church politics, and follow the chronological order. *Bastgen's* book is a valuable study of the policy of Dalberg and Napoleon toward the church in Germany. Karl Theodor von Dalberg, elector of Mainz after 1800 and the last chancellor of the empire which came to an end in 1806, had been reared in the episcopalist views of the German princes of the church of the eighteenth century, and when the empire collapsed, he still clung to his ideal of a unified German church under a primate, such as, by virtue of his office, he felt himself to be. This ideal he hoped to attain through the emperor of the French,

³ On Catholicism in the various countries outside of Germany scarcely any publications of importance have come to my attention. I note here the following: *Bosch, Karl*, Joris Karl Huysmans' religiöser Entwicklungsgang. vii, 251 pp. Constance, Romer, 1920. *Giacometti, Zaccaria*, Die Genesis von Cavour's Formel Libera chiesa in libero stato. Zürich dissertation. Aarau, Sauerländer, 1919. (A good piece of work, containing many references to Cavour's own religious development.) *Laros, Matthias*, Kardinal Newman. viii, 104 pp. Mainz, Knies, 19—. *Schneider, Johannes*, Bischof Dupanloup [of Orleans] als Pastoralpädagog. Freiburg i. B. dissertation. 190 pp. Strassburg, Hauss, 1914.

⁴ See the instructive accounts of the literature on this subject by Fritz Vigener, HZ 121 (1920), 488–512; 125 (1921), 108–142. A fairly complete report of the literature up to 1913 will be found in Valmar Cramer, Bücherkunde zur Geschichte der katholischen Bewegung in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert (Apologetische Tagesfragen 6). 198 pp. Munich-Gladbach, Volksverlag, 1914.

whom he revered with enthusiastic attachment as a new Charlemagne. Bastgen introduces us to the various phases of this policy, from the time of the political reorganization of the states of Germany in the "Reichsdeputationshauptschluss" of 1803 to the zenith of Napoleon's power in 1810. In the foreground of the picture stand the negotiations relating to the removal of the see from Mainz, which had now fallen into the hands of the French, to the cathedral of Regensburg, which was intended for the seat of the primate. Especially illuminating is the account of the nomination of the French Cardinal Fesch, an uncle of Napoleon, to be coadjutor to the German elector and chancellor. Nothing could exhibit more glaringly than does this event to how low a point national sentiment had fallen among the leading men of the empire, although it is also evident from Bastgen's account that Dalberg's measure met with strenuous disapproval. The book is founded entirely on official records, chiefly those in the archives at Vienna and Würzburg. Certain important documents are printed in the appendix. — The regulation of the German church question occupied an important place in the diplomatic negotiations at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The Roman records, which are essential to an understanding of these negotiations but have never before been used, have now, under a commission from the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences, been thoroughly investigated by *Ruck*, professor of law at Basel, and his results are embodied in a well-written monograph. *Ruck* thinks that he can prove that the curia, brilliantly represented though it was by Cardinal Consalvi, and in spite of a prevailing sentiment of the Congress favorable to the Catholic Church, was not without responsibility for its own lack of success. Its too eager pursuit of worldly political ends, as well as its insistence upon unreasonable claims, reacted unfavorably, and paralyzed interest in the actual reform of the church. Other influences were the conflict between the party of the curia and the party of a national church, and, not least, Prince Metternich's diplomatic intrigues. Consalvi's letters to Cardinal Pacca and other original documents are given in an appendix. — *Patin* has made a careful study of the sources from which proceeded the

Bavarian edict of religion of 1818. They consisted of the conceptions and ideals of Joseph II and the main principles of his laws; the modern ideas of revolutionary France; and, above all else, the Prussian national law, with which the edict is obviously connected. — *Lobmiller's* dissertation is a not unimportant contribution to the history of the reaction of Catholic church life, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, against that theory of the state which had its roots in Josephism. The documents are appended.

Several works introduce us to the momentous period from 1830 to 1850 during which the slowly but steadily growing Catholic ecclesiastical self-consciousness was setting itself against the doctrine, inherited from the eighteenth century, of the supremacy of the state even in ecclesiastical matters. The organ in which these aspirations found reasoned expression was the "Historisch-politische Blätter," founded in 1838 and still in vigorous existence. *Rhein* tells of the origin of this journal and of its earliest collaborators, especially the members of the so-called Görres-circle. He shows how it had the purpose of combating the doctrines of false political philosophy, whether from the side of the Revolution or of despotism, by proclaiming the principles of true freedom and of justice, both in the field of constitutional law and in that of politics. It is a pity that owing to the unfavorable circumstances of the time the author has not been able to publish his discussion of the relation of the Catholic party to practical politics, and of the aims of the Görres-circle with reference to conditions within the church. — In the Rhineland, which has been Prussian since 1815, the antagonism of the Catholics toward the Protestant government, from which they feared spiritual oppression, gained particularly vigorous expression, and it is certain that the relations of the Rhenish Catholics to those of Belgium played here an important part. Of the share which Belgian clericalism had in the Rhenish movement, *Schwahn* has made a thorough study, based on public records, newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets. It appears that not so much the Belgian propaganda as rather the desire of the Rhinelanders for a connection with the already strong clericalism of Belgium was the

decisive element. Schwahn also rightly emphasizes the fact that these revolutionary efforts were always directed at freeing the church from a political control in conflict with divine law, not at changing existing political conditions. Valuable comments on Schwahn's work, by Fritz Vigener, will be found in HZ 120 (1919), pp. 124-129. — *Hansen's* publications, though covering a wider range, often touch on questions of the church and politics, and treat them with nice discrimination.

An effective weapon of the Catholic movement from 1848 to the present, has been the so-called Katholikentag, officially designated as a "General Assembly of the Catholics of Germany." At meetings held nearly every year in all the larger cities of Germany that are open to Catholic influences, the leaders of the movement have made eloquent appeals to clergy and laity to defend the church and its liberty, to foster religious education and Christian civilization, and not least to attempt the solution of the problems of society. A survey of the activities of these assemblies such as *Kissling* gives is a valuable contribution to the history of the Catholic movement at large. His method is to follow the chronological order, while also giving a connected account of the several fields of work. A part of his aim is to refute hostile criticism of the activity of the meetings, and he has consequently laid himself open to the charge of occasionally going beyond the limits of objective polemics and allowing the journalist, with his catch-words, to overshadow the historian. (See Vigener, p. 122; mentioned above, p. 139.) But his collection of material is trustworthy and the book can be recommended. The second volume brings the subject down to the present time.

From 1852 on, there was a "Catholic fraction" in the Prussian House of Deputies, which adopted in 1859 the neutral designation of "Zentrum." It lasted only until 1867, but was revived a few years later in the Reichstag as a separate party, and attained to great influence. *Wendorf* has traced its history from the official records and gives a faithful picture. Unlike other critics, he insists that the Catholicism of the party was not merely a pretext to hide hostility to Prussia, especially on the part of the Westphalians and Rhinelanders who con-

stituted its nucleus, but that the party has had its roots in the Catholic faith, and has treated political questions on ethical and Christian principles in accord with the characteristic Catholic attitude of mind. A complete list of the members of the party is appended. — In the written constitution of the Centre party of the Reichstag the Catholic religion is not mentioned, and theoretically members of other religious denominations can belong to it, but unlike the parties which have gathered for definite political aims, the fundamental associative principle of the Centre is a common attitude toward life (*Weltanschauung*), that of Catholics. This is convincingly set forth by *Meyer*, who has investigated, from its own declarations of principles and from Catholic literature in general, the attitude of the party toward the state,⁵ law, the social question, economics, church, and life in general.

The nearer we come to the present time, the more difficult becomes unprejudiced historical exposition; and this is especially true of the much-debated period of the "Kulturkampf," that warlike contest between church and state in Prussia, and in others of the federated states of Germany, which took place in the seventies and eighties of the last century. As a sequel to his "L'Allemagne religieuse," Georges Goyau published four volumes on "Bismarck et l'église" (1911-1913). In the same years appeared the first two volumes of *Kissling's* comprehensive work on this subject, in which, under the auspices of the Central Committee for the Katholikentage, he assembled the abundant material so far available. The first volume dealt with the preliminary history, covering the church policy of Prussia since the seventeenth century, but laying chief stress on the development of it in the nineteenth century. The second volume described the legislation connected with the Kulturkampf, 1871-1874; the third, published during the War, narrates the efforts of the state against the passive resistance of the church, and the negotiations which brought peace in 1887. In reading the book it must not be forgotten that the author

⁵ Compare *Heinrich Schrörs*, *Katholische Staatsauffassung. Kirche und Staat*. vii, 102 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1919; and *Karl Böckenhoff*, *Katholische Kirche und moderner Staat*. 208 pp. Cologne, Bachem, [1920].

is a convinced champion of the Catholic point of view, who seeks to throw almost the whole responsibility for this conflict on the intolerance of liberalism toward everything Catholic. The conflict presents itself to him as fundamentally between faith and unbelief, and he finds it possible to spare Bismarck and the other leading statesmen of Prussia by trying to show that in entering this conflict of church and state they were led by seemingly imperative national interests, and did not recognize the underlying baleful character of the movement, not to speak of deliberately promoting it. For the statesmanlike observations on the ancient rivalry between the powers of king and priest to be found in Bismarck's great speeches, he shows no understanding. Yet it cannot be denied that in defending his position the author has tried to view and portray the past in fidelity to the facts and without bias. As a true apologist he has great skill in turning the most casual utterances of his antagonists into decisive testimonies for his side of the controversy, but a critical reader will not resent this. A thorough examination of Kissling's presentation by a competent critic is to be desired but has not yet come to hand. To the second and third volumes are appended the texts of the most important laws. — For his history of the *Kulturkampf* in a provincial town of Germany, *Rösch* had the use of abundant official and private documentary material, and his detailed account can therefore be accepted as trustworthy and accurate. — At the very beginning of the conflict between church and state in 1872 the Society of Jesus was expelled from the German Empire by a law which was repealed in 1917 under pressure of the general situation. *Duhr* furnishes a useful compilation of all the documents on the subject, including press comments, with brief explanations written from the point of view of the Society. — *Sträter* uses the personal testimony of exiled Jesuits to show the harsh measures by which the law was executed on the German houses.

Two of the books mentioned above, those of *Pfeilschifter* and *Schrörs*, come down to the present time, touching on the events of the War, and are included here because their character raises them above the rank of mere ephemeral literature.

In the first months of the war a book of some size appeared in France under the title "La guerre allemande et le catholicisme" (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1915). See the discriminating review by the Belgian Benedictine Germain Morin in *ThRev* 14, 1915, 266-268. It contained the frivolous charge that Germany was theoretically and practically hostile to Catholicism and to Christianity, and was waging a war of annihilation against both. This was a deliberate act on the part of wide and authoritative Catholic circles in France, with two cardinals and nine bishops at their head. The German book, in which a number of competent men of high standing coöperated under the lead of *Pfeilschifter*, professor of church history at Munich, is intended as a refutation of this monstrous accusation, and at the same time illustrates German, and especially German Catholic, standards of culture. — *Schrörs's* book is a rejoinder to Georges Goyau's "Les Catholiques allemands et l'Empire évangélique." Here, too, the charge of extreme nationalism is rebutted, and it is pointed out that the accusation against Germany proceeds from the very land of secularism, whose past, in the light of church history, is by no means above reproach. What is good in French Catholicism is amply recognized, and especially are the French clergy warmly praised.

Among several publications in the field of ecclesiastical law *Freisen's* constitutional history of the Catholic Church in Germany stands foremost. The first part deals with Catholic ecclesiastical law in general since the Council of Trent, ending with an account of the reforms of Pius X, but the author's special province is the civil law relating to the church. After a brief outline of the law concerning the church in the period of the old empire and the federation, and of the legislation of the present empire and of Austria, he describes the development in each of the twenty-six German states. It is perhaps true that the account of the great states, Austria and Prussia, is too brief, but this permits detailed discussion of the law in the smaller states, with citation in full of long documents not elsewhere accessible in a collection. Compare the excellent review by G. J. Ebers in *ThRev* 16, 1917, 385-391. — The history of the subjection of the Catholic Church to civil jurisdiction in

Prussia forms an important chapter in the great struggle of state and church, which in the Prussian monarchy shows some especially instructive features. Here can be traced the slow but steady progress of the Brandenburg-Prussian constitution in its various phases, from the rigid confessional attachment of the Reformation period to the condition of a modern, religiously neutral, constitutional state. It is not easy in such a study to refrain from ecclesiastical or political partisanship, but *Kaas* has succeeded in doing so, stating the facts as they were, not as they ought to have been in order to suit one view or the other. To his detailed historical account he has added a systematic section giving the law as now in force, and in an appendix documents not previously known. — The second work of *Kaas* named above deals with a matter at first sight of only local interest, but in fact it is a very instructive contribution to the history and theory of the *sedes vacans* in Catholic ecclesiastical law. *Kaas* discusses the measures taken after the death of Clemens Wenzel, the last sovereign archbishop of Trier († 1812), to administer the see until the appointment of a new bishop. He shows that neither the appointment of the first vicar, Beck, nor that of the second, Hommer (subsequently named apostolic vicar by the curia, and later bishop, see p. 153, below), was correct under church law, so that the validity of the official acts of both vicars can be brought under question. Full citations from the documents are given.

Finally, we may report on certain useful publications containing ecclesiastical statistics and other information. *Krose's* manual has rapidly grown in favor since its first appearance in 1907, and has become indispensable as a book of reference. In eight sections it gives reliable information, drawn from official sources, on the following topics: (1) Organization of the church as a whole; (2) Ecclesiastical legislation and decisions; (3) Catholicism and education; (4) The charitable and social activity of German Catholics; (5) Missions to the heathen; (6) Ecclesiastical statistics for Germany; (7) The organization of the Catholic Church in Germany, with detailed figures for all religious orders and congregations; (8) Publications of the official Central Bureau for church activities. — *Buchberger*,

vicar-general in Munich, has united a group of scholars under his editorship to write on the cultural, social, and charitable work of the church in Bavaria. The essays, each by an expert, treat of Science, Schools, Art, Music, Economics, Social work, Care of the young, Charity, The religious and moral life. — *Mayer's* work is valuable because of the tables giving in detail statistics of the membership of the various confessions in Bavaria, including the sects and the non-christians.

2. Individual Catholics

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BONAVENTURA. *Donders, Adolf*, Pater Bonaventura O. P. 1862–1914. viii, 326 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1918. — *Rings, Mannes Maria*, Pater Bonaventura als Grossstadtseelsorger. 58 pp. Dülmen, Laumann, 1915.

BRENTANO. *Cardauns, Hermann*, Klemens Brentano. Beiträge namentlich zur Emmerich-Frage (1. Vereinsschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft für 1915). 130 pp. Cologne, Bachem, 1915. — *Hunkeler, Leodegar*, Clemens Brentanos religiöser Entwicklungsgang. Freiburg (Switzerland) dissertation. 165 pp. Sarnen, Ehrli, 1915. — *Niessen, Johannes*, A. K. Emmerichs Charismen und Gesichte. 319 pp. Trier, Petrus-Verlag, 1918. — *Pariser, Ernst*, Das religiöse Element in Brentanos Lyrik. 140 pp. Weimar, Kiepenheuer, 1917. — *Schellberg, Wilhelm*, Clemens Brentano (ZLB 20). 181 pp. 1916; 2d edition 1922.

DEUTINGER. *Dyroff, Adolf*, Martin Deutinger als Vorläufer der Wertphilosophie (Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft 29, 1915, 457–475). — *Ettlinger, Max*, Die Aesthetik Martin Deutingers in ihrem Werden, Wesen und Wirken. 172 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1914. — *Kallen, Gerhard*, Die Geschichtsphilosophie Martin Deutingers (Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik 159, 1915, 193–230). — *Müller, Josef*, Martin Deutinger (*ibid.*, 152, 1917, 169–187; 163, 1918, 63–85). — *Muth, Karl*, Martin Deutinger: Ueber das Verhältnis der Poesie zur Religion (Sammlung Kösel 80). 125 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1915.

DÖLLINGER. *Herzog, Eduard*, Briefwechsel zwischen Stiftsprobst Josef Burkard Leu in Luzern und Stiftsprobst Dr. Ignaz Döllinger in München über den Kirchenstaat (IkZ, n. s. 8, 1918, 324–333). — *Schrörs, Heinrich*, Ignaz Döllingers Briefe an eine junge Freundin. x, 260 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1914.

FISCHER. *Schmitz, Josef*, Antonius Kardinal Fisher, Erzbischof von Köln. xii, 246 pp. Cologne, Bachem, 1915.

FRIEDRICH. *Friedrich*, Meine Briefe an Döllinger aus dem Konzilsjahre 1869-1870 (IkZ, n. s. 6, 1916, 27-55; 174-214; 304-334; 401-453).

GÖRRES. *Dijk, J. B. van*, Joseph von Görres en de kerk in Duitschland in zijn tijd (1776-1848). Leyden, Futura, 1915. — *Steig, Reinhold*, Joseph von Görres' Briefe an Achim von Arnim (Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher 19, 1916, 103-159).

HENSEL. *Cardauns, Hermann*, Aus Luise Hensels Jugendzeit. viii, 148 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1918; Die Lieder der Dichterin Luise Hensel (HPBI 162, 1918, 158-168).

HERTLING. *Hertling, Georg, Freiherr von*, Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben. 2 vols. vii, 384; iv, 213 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1919, 1920.

HOFBAUER. *Eckardt, Johannes*, Klemens Maria Hofbauer (ZLB 15). 88 pp. 1916.

HOHENLOHE-SCHILLINGSFÜRST. *Ludwig, August*, Streiflichter auf den Character des Fürsten und Weihbishops Alexander von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (HJG 38, 1917, 321-329). — *Sebastian, L.*, Fürst Alexander von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst und seine Gebetsheilungen. xix, 176 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1918.

HOMMER. *Wagner, J.* Joseph von Hommer, Bischof von Trier. 196 pp. Trier, Petrusverlag, 1917. (Cf. p. 146, above, *Kaas*, Vikariat.)

HURTER. *Hillenkamp, Joseph M.*, Pater Hurter, S. J. vii, 236 pp. Innsbruck, Rauch, 1917.

JANSSEN. *Pastor, Ludwig, Freiherr von*, ed., Johannes Janssens Briefe. 2 vols. xi, 441; xxxv, 336 pp. Freiburg i. B., 1919.

LIEBERMANN. *Döring, Heinrich*, Vom Juden zum Ordenstifter. Der ehrwürdige Pater Liebermann und die Gründung der afrikanischen Mission im 19. Jahrhundert. xii, 351 pp. Knechtsteden, Missionshaus, 1920.

METTERNICH. *Widmann, Ernst*, Die religiösen Anschauungen des Fürsten Metternich. Giessen dissertation. viii, 105 pp. Darmstadt, Winter, 1914.

MÖHLER. *Bihlmeyer, Karl*, Johann Adam Möhler als Kirchenhistoriker, seine Leistungen und Methode (ThQ 100, 1919, 154-198). — *Lösch, Stephan*, Johann Adam Möhler und die Lehre von der Entwicklung des Dogmas (*ibid.*, 28-59, 129-152).

REISACH. *Doeberl, Anton*, Bischof Reisach (HPBI 162, 1918, 469-480, 538-568.) — *Holl, Konstantin*, Zum Entwicklungsgang des Kardinals Karl August Graf von Reisach (*ibid.*, 269-281, 341-357, 417-426).

RINGSEIS. *Hamann, Elisabeth Margarete*, Emilie Ringseis. xii, 228 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1916.

SAILER. *Menn, M.*, Johann Michael Sailers Geistesarbeit (IkZ, n. s. 5, 1915, 27-57, 178-208, 392-421). — *Stölzle, Remigius*, Johann Michael Sailer. Seine Ablehnung als Bischof von Augsburg im Jahre 1819 erstmalig aktenmässig dargestellt. 45 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914.

SHELL. *Koch, Joseph*, Die Erkenntnislehre Herman Schells. Bonn dissertation. Fulda, Aktiendruckerei, 1915.

SCHWARZENBERG. *Wolfsgruber, Coelestin*, Friedrich Kardinal Schwarzenberg. Vols. II and III. xix, 632; xxi, 870 pp. Vienna, Mayer, 1916, 1917.

SEGESSER. *Müller, K.*, Philipp Anton von Segesser. Part I. 1817-1857. 111 pp. Lucerne, Räder, 1918.

SEPP. Dr. Johann Nepomuk Sepp, 1816-1909. Ein Bild seines Lebens nach seinen eigenen Aufzeichnungen. Part I. iii, 165 pp., 4 plates. Regensburg, Verlagsanstalt, 1916.

STOLZ. *Stockmann, Alois*, ed., Alban Stolz und die Schwestern Ringseis. Ein freundschaftlicher Federkrieg. viii, 429 pp. Freiburg, Herder, [1919].

WAAL. *Göller, Emil*, Prälat Anton de Waal. 67 pp. Freiburg i. B., Caritas Verlag, 1917. — *Massarette, I.*, Prälat Anton de Waal und der Campo Santo der Deutschen in Rom (Frankfurter zeitgemässe Broschüren 36, 9-10). 59 pp. Hamm, Breer & Thiemann, 1917.

WINDISCHMANN. *Dyroff, Adolf*, Carl Joseph Windischmann (1775-1839) und sein Kreis (1. Vereinsschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft für 1916). 123 pp. Cologne, Bachem, 1916.

GENERAL. The history of the Catholic theological faculty of the University of Bonn is so closely bound up with that of the Catholic Church in the Rhineland, and the professors of that faculty include scholars of such eminence, that the book which *Lauscher*, himself a member of the faculty, has written, almost wholly on the basis of official documents, deserves attention.

BONAVENTURA. The Dominican Father Bonaventura was one of the most celebrated of the great city preachers of the pre-war period, and was known also to German Catholics in America, where he resided for a year and a half, and on the occasion of the jubilee of the Central Alliance of German-American Catholics preached at Cincinnati, September 20, 1905, a sermon afterward widely circulated in print. *Donders* gives a sympathetic picture of this zealous pastor, for which he has taken pains to gather reports of his sermons and addresses on both sides of the ocean.

BRENTANO. The literature on Clemens Brentano, one of the most gifted of the group of Catholic romanticists, has received several additions. *Cardauns's* book is primarily a work of literary criticism, and concerns us here only because it discusses in some detail Brentano's reports of the visions of the

nun, Anna Katharina Emmerich of Dülmen in Westphalia, which are so famous in the annals of Catholic mysticism. Cardauns believes that Brentano interpolated less into the descriptions of the visions given him by the nun than is generally supposed, and that the subject of these ecstasies herself, either in the "pictures" which she "saw" or at most when she related them, was strongly influenced by what she knew of older literary traditions (through wholly natural channels, so that no intent to deceive need be ascribed to her). Nevertheless, according to Cardauns, Brentano's work remains a masterpiece of Catholic edifying literature. Brentano himself sincerely accepted the nun's stories as divine revelation. He owed them much; for they were decisive in bringing him back to the Catholic faith in which he had been born and brought up, but which, in the brimming tide of his worldly life as a poet, he had almost completely lost. — *Hunkeler* has traced Brentano's religious development in the light of his environment and his own spiritual individuality. He combats the charge that Brentano's silence as a poet after his return to a religious faith was a sign of intellectual impoverishment; rather, he says, Brentano retained to the end the fullness of his poetic gift, and only refrained from aiming at artistic triumphs because he felt himself called to another, namely a religious, service. — As a richly endowed spirit, in whose poetry the unconscious and subconscious emotions of the human heart are mirrored with a rare clearness, Brentano is lauded by *Schellberg*, whose comprehensive biography, based on his own researches and those of others, is the best guide to the understanding of this gifted romanticist.

DEUTINGER. Another romanticist by nature was the philosopher and student of aesthetics, Martin Deutinger, who taught in Munich in the middle of the nineteenth century. He is the typical Catholic philosopher of the period of transition from German idealism to the resumption of the philosophical tradition of scholasticism. The one-hundredth anniversary of his birth, in 1915, recalled him to mind, and it is evident that much of value can still be found in his work. *Dyroff*, *Ettlinger*, *Kallen*, and *Müller* endeavor to bring

out this valuable element, each on his own side. All this makes appropriate *Muth's* new edition of one of the most thoughtful and discriminating of Deutinger's published works, his five lectures, "Ueber das Verhältniß der Poesie zur Religion," 1861. An excellent introduction gives all that is needed as commentary.

DÖLLINGER. In view of the great importance of Döllinger for the history of Catholicism in Germany, every publication is to be welcomed which gives us an insight into his not easily understood character. This is the case with his letters to Fräulein Anna Gramich, later Frau von Bary. As Döllinger himself wrote to her, there were not three men in the world whom he had permitted to see so deeply into his heart as she had done. She does indeed appear as the confidante of his thoughts, and it is sad to find that in the last of the hundred letters (a brief note in English, of October 25, 1869) he reproaches her with a serious indiscretion. She had, he believed, let it become known that Döllinger, under the pseudonym of "Janus," was the author of the much talked-of articles, "The Pope and the Council," which were later published in book form. This reproach, as the editor *Schrörs* states in a note, was undeserved. Short as all these letters are, they are full of interest, both as human documents and in relation to the history of the time. As an old friend of the Bary family, the editor has been able to add an instructive introduction. The correspondence covers the years 1858-1869, the period which determined Döllinger's later development. — The correspondence between Leu and Döllinger, which *Herzog* publishes, affords interesting glimpses into the apprehension with which liberal Catholics of the time (1861) viewed the ultramontane movement.

FISCHER. Antonius Fischer was archbishop of Cologne from 1902 to 1912, and cardinal from 1903. His life of beneficent activity is described by *Schmitz* in a careful and clearly written book, often with a touch of the preacher. It is fully illustrated with many good portraits and other pictures.

FRIEDRICH. It is to be regretted that the letters written to Döllinger by Friedrich, known as the author of the History of

the Vatican Council, appeared only in a periodical and are not to be had in book form. As theological adviser to the German Cardinal Hohenlohe, Friedrich attended the council, of which the reader can learn more in his diary of the time, published in 1871. To one who knows the "Roman Letters from the Council" (see pp. 132 f. above), these letters of course offer nothing that is new, but the freshness of immediate contact with events gives them great value as a contemporary source of history, and they are still worth reading.

GÖRRES. Of *van Dijk's* biography of the great publicist Joseph von Görres, the present writer has been able to gain no further knowledge than the title.

HENSEL. The conversion to Catholicism in 1818 of Luise Hensel, daughter of a Lutheran pastor, friend of Clemens Brentano (see pp. 149 f. above), and herself widely known as a writer of religious poetry, was one of the most notable conquests of that faith in the period of Romanticism. On the hundredth anniversary of her conversion *Cardauns* published some new letters and poems by her which further emphasize the familiar features of her character.

HERTLING. Of the Reminiscences of Freiherr, later Count, Georg von Hertling, chancellor of the German Empire in the last years of the World War, Vigener says, in his review already more than once quoted, that they do not furnish to the historian the new information that was to be expected from the scholar, statesman, and Catholic, Hertling. That may be so. But the less ambitious expectation that the autobiography of so highly gifted a man as Hertling will be of value for its own sake, will be rewarded by a book of absorbing interest. There is a peculiar fascination in observing, in one and the same personality, the union of the abstract, learned interests of an eminent authority on patristic and scholastic philosophy with the practical activity of a parliamentarian and statesman, whereby, at the end of a full life, the professor was exalted to be chancellor. Hertling himself, to be sure, wrote down his reminiscences only as far as 1899, but his son has continued them to the year 1902 with the help of the material collected by his father, and this last chapter contains much interesting

matter, especially concerning Hertling's successful conduct at Rome of the negotiations between empire and curia for the establishment of a Catholic theological faculty in Strasburg.

HOFBAUER. Clemens Maria Hofbauer⁶ of Vienna, the first German Redemptorist, and next to St. Alfonso of Liguori the most successful promoter of that influential congregation, has been a saint of the church since 1909. *Eckardt* portrays the indefatigable activity of this metropolitan apostle, and his relations with the romanticists of Vienna, Friedrich Schlegel, Zacharias Werner, and others.

HOHENLOHE. Prince Alexander von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1794-1848), canon of Bamberg and Grosswardein cathedrals and later suffragan bishop in the latter place, was in his lifetime a much-discussed personality by reason of the wonderful cures by prayer which made his name known far beyond the borders of Germany. A considerable literature on the subject still testifies to this interest. Recent researches have somewhat dimmed the brightness of his halo, but until now no work covered all the scattered material and discussed it critically. This lack is supplied by *Sebastian*, a pupil of Merkle at Würzburg, whose conscientious and careful weighing of the evidence has won the approval of those competent to judge. See *A. Ludwig* in *ThRev* 17, 1918, 264 ff. and his article in *HJG* cited above, p. 148.

HOMMER. In the events leading up to the so-called Cologne disturbances (*Kölner Wirren*), which culminated in the arrest of Archbishop Droste in 1837, Bishop Josef Hommer of Trier gained an involuntary notoriety. It was he who on his death-bed was moved by the pangs of conscience to reveal to Pope Pius VIII the questionable secret agreement respecting mixed marriages made with the Prussian government by Archbishop Spiegel of Cologne, which Spiegel, without the knowledge of the curia, had forced his suffragans to accept. This circumstance lends interest to the perusal of his biography by *Wagner*, although the subject is not exhaustively treated in its

⁶ So the name is written by the latest biographer, not 'Hoffbauer,' as we usually see it.

relation to church politics and ecclesiastical law. See under *Kaas* above, p. 146.

HURTER. The Jesuit Hugo Hurter, the biographer of Pope Innocent III, gained an honored name by his *Nomenclator literarius theologiae catholicae* (a useful work of reference which has gone through several editions), and by his handy editions of the most important patristic writings, *Sanctorum patrum opuscula*. *Hillenkamp* has given an historically correct, as well as a sympathetic, picture of his character and work.

JANSSEN. Of the German Catholic historians none except Döllinger is so widely known outside of Germany as Johannes Janssen, author of the "Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters," which first appeared in 1878 and has been reprinted in many editions.⁷ He was an extremely active scholar, teaching not in a university but in a gymnasium at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Soon after his death in 1891 his pupil *Pastor*, who continued his History, wrote an interesting account of his life, and now gives a more intimate view of his personality by publishing his letters. These cover his entire lifetime, and are well worth reading for their own sake, giving detailed information about his many-sided personal relationships and about his historical studies, especially the planning and gradual maturing of his great work. It is of singular interest to follow the changes that took place in Janssen himself in consequence of the Kulturkampf (see pp. 143 f. above). His long letters from Rome to Frau Maria von Sydow, a convert to Catholicism, wife of the Prussian diplomat Rudolf von Sydow, show clearly that at that time (1863) his attitude toward the movement which led to the Council was one of skepticism, while later, under the impression made by the restrictive laws aimed at the heart of the church, it speedily changed to full conviction. Perhaps even his History would have taken on a different complexion if it had been written then, instead of in the early seventies. During his stay in Rome, Janssen had studied the work of the Jesuit Kleutgen on the "Theologie der Vorzeit," in which, in contrast to the so-called Germanistic school, represented by Hirscher, Döllinger, and

⁷ On the latest edition of this work, by *Pastor*, see this REVIEW, January, 1924, p. 4.

others, the author went back to mediæval scholasticism as the only authoritative philosophy and theology for the Catholic. The logical consistency of the general view here developed made a deep impression on a man so completely unphilosophical by nature as Janssen confessed himself to be, and doubtless exercised a determining influence on his conception of history. Pastor's editing of the letters is a model.

LIEBERMANN. Franz Maria Paul Liebermann (1802-1852), organizer of the congregation of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost (1848) and founder of the African Mission (the "Moses of the black race"), was born at Zabern in Alsace, the son of a rabbi. Two Frenchmen, Pitra and Laplace, have already written his life, and *Doering*, the author of the present biography, describes his book as a free working-over of his foreign predecessors, with occasional additions of fresh material.

METTERNICH. In a diplomat and man of the world of the type of Prince Metternich, religion as a personal possession cannot be expected, even though toward the end of his life he may have shown himself a pious Christian and a good Catholic. At most, his views of religion and his treatment of religious and ecclesiastical questions can be presented only as elements in his policy. An attempt to do this has been successfully made by *Widmann*, so far as the available resources permit, but the author has been tempted to ascribe to his hero a greater sincerity of religious feeling than he probably had.

MÖHLER. *Bihlmeyer's* fine study brings before us the Tübingen theologian Johann Adam Möhler, one of the foremost of Catholic writers of church history in the nineteenth century. Especial attention is given to his chief work, "Symbolik."

REISACH. No satisfactory biography exists of the bishop and cardinal, Count Karl August Reisach, who played an important part in Munich and Rome during the eventful years from 1848 to 1869. Hence the contributions toward such a work made by *Doeberl* and *Holl* are worth noticing.

RINGSEIS. Emilie Ringseis (1831-1895), daughter of Johann Nepomuk Ringseis, physician in Munich and prominent Catholic politician, was a poetess, and a relative of the much more noted Annette von Droste. Through her epic, "Der Königin

Lied" (Song of the Virgin), she has long been endeared to pious Catholics. Fräulein *Hamann* has described her life and personality, and also made a detailed analysis of her poetical works. See also under *Stolz*, p. 157 below.

SAILER. Johann Michael Sailer, who died in 1832 as Bishop of Regensburg, belonged in spirit with the churchmen of the eighteenth century who found it possible to avail themselves of the intellectual profit of the Enlightenment without sacrificing anything of their faith or their ecclesiastical principles. His numerous writings on moral and pastoral theology, collected into forty volumes, are not yet forgotten. *Stölzle*, who made a pleasing anthology from these writings some years ago (*Sammlung Kösel* 41-42, 1910), and has already written several articles on Sailer's life, now, in the light of original documents, tells the story of a somewhat obscure episode which shows to what suspicions the orthodoxy of this worthy and truly pious man was continually subjected. — *Menn's* article is an appreciative introduction to Sailer's writings.

SCHELL. Herman Schell († 1906), professor at Würzburg, was a distinguished representative of the theology which tried to mediate between the scholastic tradition and the conceptions of current philosophy, and consequently offended the ecclesiastical authorities, especially at Rome. *Koch* gives an account of Schell's theory of knowledge and of his treatment of the fundamental problems of metaphysics.

SCHWARZENBERG. In the very full biography of the Cardinal Prince Friedrich Schwarzenberg, Archbishop of Prague, by the Benedictine *Wolfsgruber*, the first volume of which (the period of his youth) appeared in 1906, the narrative occupies but a small space compared with the abundance of letters and documentary material. But this very fact makes it valuable to the historian, as he finds in it important contemporary information, for instance, about the philosopher Anton Günther, who was highly esteemed by Schwarzenberg but was condemned by the curia for his supposedly rationalistic doctrines, or about the way in which the Austrian Concordat of 1855 originated and was carried through, or on the history of the opposition at the Vatican Council, of which opposition Schwar-

zenberg was a leader, or finally on the Kulturkampf in Austria. Compare Vigener, l. c., pp. 125-128, p. 139 above.

SEPP. Johann Nepomuk Sepp, for a time professor in the University of Munich, who died in 1906 at the age of nearly ninety years, is known as the author of numerous writings on Early Christianity (for example, a *Life of Jesus* directed against David Friedrich Strauss, which went through several editions), also on Bavarian history, and further as a Catholic politician. His autobiography, written with evident self-esteem in the third person after the distinguished examples of Caesar, Charles V, and Ignatius Loyola, is rather barren from the point of view of the historian. It ends with the close of Sepp's career as a teacher in 1875. A second part, which the title page implies, has not appeared.

STOLZ. Alban Stolz († 1863), professor of pastoral theology at the University of Freiburg in the Breisgau, is considered the greatest Catholic popular writer of the nineteenth century. His writings, in many editions and in collected form, are still much read. He was a friend of the family of the physician Ringseis in Munich (see Ringseis, p. 155 above), and his correspondence with the two daughters, the poetess Emilie and her sister Bettina, edited by *Stockmann*, is not without general interest.

WAAL. Every German traveller to Rome knows of the prelate Anton de Waal († 1917), who for nearly half a century was rector of the Campo Santo dei Tedeschi and wrote numerous contributions to the history of Roman churches. The little books of *Göller* and *Massarette*, the latter giving also a history of the Campo Santo, are an admirable tribute to the memory of this worthy man.

WINDISCHMANN. Carl Joseph Windischmann, professor of philosophy at Bonn, opponent of Hermesianism and intimately related to the romanticists and to Görres and his circle, has heretofore found no adequate biographical recognition. *Dyroff* supplies this lack, basing his work on wide research among official records and enlivening it by frequent glances at contemporary intellectual interests.

e. *Old Catholicism and Modernism*

Demmel, Hans Joseph, Geschichte des Altkatholizismus in Oesterreich. ii, 98 pp. Kempten, Reichsverband altkatholischer Jungmannschaften, 1914. — *Hacker, Friedrich*, Johannes Friedrich als Führer der altkatholischen Bewegung (IkZ, n. s. 8, 1918, 252–274). — *Herzog, W.*, Die katholisch-theologische Fakultät an der Universität Bern (*ibid.*, 9, 1919, 295–333). — *Pijper, F.*, Het Modernisme en andere stroomingen in de katholieke kerk. viii, 221 pp. Amsterdam, 1920.

Little of importance has been published on these topics. *Demmel's* short history of Old Catholicism is recommended as trustworthy and instructive by Loesche, an authority on the subject, in Theologische Literaturzeitung 40, 1915, 229. The nature of *Hacker's* and *Herzog's* articles is indicated by the titles. The latter has used official sources. — *Pijper's* book on Modernism, to judge by what I learn from Dr. Bakhuizen van den Brink, is not a contribution to knowledge but merely an outline of the tragic history of the movement, which the author hopes, in spite of all suppressive measures, will again show itself capable of life. In eleven chapters, the book treats of Febronius, Lamennais, Newman, Döllinger, Modernism in America, Schell, Loisy, Tyrrell, and the condemnation of modernism by the Pope. From these headings it will be seen that Pijper has given modernism a very wide definition — too wide, in the opinion of the present writer.

2. PROTESTANTISM

a. *General*

Holmquist, Hjalmar, Ur kristendomens historia mellan världskrigen 1814–1914. Sju föreläsningar i utvidgad form. 403 pp. Upsala, Kristliga Studentrörelsen, 1918. — *Lindeberg, G. W.*, Protestantismen i Japan 1859–1913. Historisk-principiell undersökning. Dissertation. v, 246 pp. Stockholm, Diakonistyrelsen, 1918.

In seven popular lectures, which have been enlarged for publication, *Holmquist* discusses various important aspects of religious life between the two World Wars (1814–1914): ultramontanism, Schleiermacher, the Calvinistic revival, the Anglican development, religious denominations in North America, oriental churches, etc.

Lindeberg's work on Protestantism in Japan is the first attempt in Swedish to treat missions as a branch of knowledge. The first part is historical; the second deals with present conditions in the light of principles, and includes a comparison of Protestant Christianity with the native religions and with the Japanese character. The book concludes with a discussion of the actual results and future prospects of the Japanese mission.

b. *Germany and Switzerland*

1. General

Haccius, Georg, Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte. Vol. III, Pts. 1 and 2. viii, 552; viii, 616 pp. Hermannsburg, Missionshandlung, 1914, 1920. — *Kissling, Johannes Baptista*, Der deutsche Protestantismus 1817–1917. 2 vols. xi, 422; xi, 440 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1917, 1918. — *Otto, Ernst*, Hundert Jahre Missionsarbeit. Der sächsische Hauptmissionsverein 1819–1919. iii, 215 pp. Dresden, Ungelenk, 1919. — *Schlatter, Wilhelm*, Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815–1915. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der ungedruckten Quellen. 3 vols. xii, 422; xiii, 452; xiv, 345 pp. Basel, Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1916. — *Schomerus, Christian*, 1890–1915. Fünf und zwanzig Jahre Hermannsburger Missionsgeschichte. 90 pp. Hermannsburg, Missionshandlung, 1915. — *Steiner, Paul*, Hundert Jahre Missionsarbeit. Zur Erinnerung an das hundertjährige Bestehen der Basler Mission 1815–1915. 120 pp. Basel, Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1915. — *Wurster, Paul*, Hundert Jahre Predigeranstalt in Tübingen. iii, 58 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1917.

One of the urgent needs in church history is an impartial account of German Protestantism in the nineteenth century. Friedrich Nippold († 1918) attempted this in his *Church History of the Nineteenth Century* (vol. V, 1906), but was too much involved in party interests and too much concerned with current issues for the necessary requirements of serious historical scholarship.

It is not without significance that a Catholic has now undertaken the task. Similarly, in 1857–58, Josef Edmund Jörg, editor of the *Historisch-politische Blätter* (see above, p. 141), published in two volumes his “Geschichte des Protestantismus in seiner neuesten Entwicklung.” But besides his primary purpose of interpreting this development for his fellow-catholics, he was confessedly guided by the aim of bringing out those occurrences in the disintegrating process through which, as he believed, Protestantism was passing, in which the

approach to Catholic principles seemed to give ground for hope. The subjective attitude of the ardent author colored every page of Jörg's book, which still remains worth reading. On the other hand *Kissling*, in composing from his researches and observations a history of German Protestantism from 1817 to 1917, has restricted himself to an objective presentation, often indeed to a mere report. We have already characterized his histories of the German "Kulturkampf" and the "Katholikentage" (above, pp. 142 ff.), and cannot repress a certain apprehension from the start at finding that in the same period of time he has undertaken to treat another subject so comprehensive and possessing so few points of contact with those other studies.¹ However, much of his work has been done with the scissors, and more than half the text of his history of German Protestantism consists of quotations of varying length, often with but a hint of comment or none at all. For real discussion with his opponents, such as interests us continually in Jörg's book, we look in vain in *Kissling*. He follows the method so successfully pursued over and over again by Catholic historians since the time of Eusebius of Caesarea — that of putting together passages from original sources, apparently without bias but in such a way as to bewilder superficially instructed readers. We cannot accuse *Kissling*, — any more, be it said, than we can Eusebius — of deliberately stacking the cards with this end in view, but as a Roman Catholic he has had an eye always and exclusively to the phenomena of dissolution in German Protestantism, which are indeed grave, and for which a mass of evidence is easy to produce. For that reason all that he had to do was to compose a picture in which the single features taken by themselves are well observed and elaborated, but which taken as a whole is a caricature. Nevertheless it is to be regretted that apparently but little notice has been taken of the book, not merely from the Protestant side but also among Catholics. It contains a great deal of material, conveniently assembled, which can be made serviceable

¹ At the same time, too, *Kissling* has been writing a popular biography of Cardinal Ximenez (*Lebensbilder aus dem Orden des heiligen Franziskus*, vol. I). x, 83 pp. Fully illustrated. Münster, Aschendorff, 1917.

to critical use. The presentation is simple — almost too much so, as was noted above with reference to the use of quotations — even plain, and without any charm. Thus the author seldom girds himself to the task of adequately characterizing a leading personality, and when he does so, as in the case of Karl Hase, he makes such thorough work of it that it is hard to suppress a smile. But somehow Hase must have been a thorn in his side!

The history of the Basel mission, written in honor of the centenary of its establishment, by Pastor *Schlatter* of St. Gall (not to be confounded with the well known Professor Adolf Schlatter of Tübingen), actively supported by the Central Committee, is a product of unremitting industry, though more a chronicle than a history. The author relies exclusively on the original records, paying no attention to the earlier accounts of Ostertag, Eppler, and Bornemann. In the first volume, after a brief sketch of the predecessor of the society, the “*Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft*” founded by Urlsperger, he tells the story of the mission at home and its organization under approved leaders. Volumes II and III take us into the mission fields: India, China, Borneo, Liberia, the Gold Coast, Togo, and Kamerun. The projected concluding section on the Basel Mission in the World War the author has not been able to write. The Mission itself has collapsed for the time being and can only slowly be restored. Good maps are appended to the last two volumes. Those who know the subject praise the work as thoroughly trustworthy. — *Steiner's* book, also written for the Basel Society, is warmly recommended by a reviewer familiar with the material (Bornemann, in *ThLz* 1917, 326) as a popular, copiously illustrated summary of the main events of the Society's history. — On occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the *Sächsischer Hauptmissionsverein*, *Otto* has written a memorial in which the three periods of the history of the Society (1819–1836, *Dresdener Missionsverein*; 1836–1848, *Evangelisch-lutherische Missionsgesellschaft*; 1848–1919, *Sächsischer Hauptmissionsverein*) are clearly portrayed. — *Haccius* has completed his large work on the history of missions in Hanover. The first volume (1905) covered the

period from the first beginnings of the spread of Christianity in Friesland and Lower Saxony in the Carolingian time down to the founding of the Missionary Institute at Hermannsburg by Pastor Ludwig Harms in 1849; the second (1907) carried the history of the Institute as far as 1865, the year in which Theodor Harms undertook the management of it. The concluding volume now before us traces the activity of the Hermannsburg mission in its various fields of labor, among which South Africa (Zululand, Bechuanaland) and India are the most important. — Haccius himself has been director of missions since 1890. In honor of his twenty-five years of service *Schomerus* has written a sympathetic account of the progress of the mission during the quarter-century. — For the centennial of the "Predigeranstalt" connected with the famous "Stift" at Tübingen, the theological faculty has published a memorial volume in which the work of such eminent men as Christian Friedrich Schmid, Palmer, Hermann Weiss, and Gottschick is warmly appreciated and its fruitfulness described. Since its publication *Wurster*, Gottschick's successor and the author of the memorial, has himself died (1923).

2. Biographical Studies

BEZZEL. Zum Gedächtnis Hermann von *Bezzels*. Gesammelte Aufträge. 55 pp. Leipzig, Dörffling & Francke, 1917.

BISMARCK. *Baumgarten, Otto*, Bismarcks Glaube. 324 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1915. — *Schiffers, Otto*, Bismarck als Christ. 4th ed. 172 pp. Elberfeld, Evangelische Gesellschaft, 1915. — *Seeberg, Reinhold*, Das Christentum Bismarcks (Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen 10, 6). 38 pp. Berlin-Lichterfelde, Runge, 1915. — *Soden, Hans von*, Bismarcks Glaube. 35 pp. Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1915.

CREMER. *Cremer, Hermann*, Schriftgedanken, Aphorismen und Skizzen, hrsg. von Ernst Cremer (BFTTh 21, 8). 68 pp. 1917.

DREWS. *Eger, Karl*, Paul Drews' theologische Arbeit (ThStKr 90, 1917, 1-30).

FECHNER. *Lülmann, Christian*, 'Monismus und Christentum bei Gustav Theodor Fechner. 90 pp. Berlin, Schwetschke, 1917.

FEUERBACH. *Girkon, Hans*, Darstellung und Kritik des religiösen Illusionsbegriffs bei Ludwig Feuerbach. Erlangen dissertation. 73 pp. Tübingen, Laupp, 1914. — *Henne, Hermann*, Die religionsphilosophische Methode Feuerbachs. Tübingen dissertation. viii, 55 pp. Leipzig-Borna, Noske, 1918.

FINSLER. *Finsler, Georg*, Diethelm Georg Finsler, der letzte Antistes der zürcherischen Kirche. Pt. I (116. Neujahrsblatt der zürcherischen Hilfsgesellschaft), 93 pp.; pt. II, 50 pp. Zürich, Beer, 1916, 1920.

FRANK. *Bruining, Nicolette Adriana*, De theologie van F. H. R. von Frank (De Erlanger Theologie). Dissertation. 121 pp. Amsterdam, A. H. Kruyt, 1919. — *Gahr, C.*, Franks Stellung zur Erkenntnistheorie und Metaphysik. Dissertation. 106 pp. Erlangen, Döres, 1919.

FRAUENFELDER. *Keller, G.*, Pfarrer Eduard Frauenfelder, ein auserwähltes Rüstzeug. 1836–1917. 256 pp. St. Gall (Switzerland), Buchhandlung der evangelischen Gesellschaft, 1918.

HENGSTENBERG. *Bonwetsch, Gustav Nathanael*, Aus Vierzig Jahren deutscher Kirchengeschichte. Briefe an Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg (BFTh 22, 1; 24, 1. 2). 2 vols. 176, 150 pp. 1917, 1919; Der Historiker Heinrich Leo in seinen Briefen an Hengstenberg (Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1917, pp. 349–459).

HERRMANN. *Herrmann, Rudolf*, Christentum und Geschichte bei Wilhelm Herrmann. Göttingen dissertation, 1913. xi, 164 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1914. — *Roose, Jan Cornelis*, De Theologie van Wilhelm Herrmann. Dissertation. v, 153, vii, and (theses) 6 pp. Leyden, van Niftrik, 1914.

HILTY. *Hack, Valentin*, Georg Hiltys Auffassung vom Christentum. Dissertation. 87 pp. Breslau, Grass & Barth, 1914.

HOFMANN. *Wapler, Paul*, Johannes von Hofmann. x, 396 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1914; Die Genesis der Versöhnungslehre Johannes von Hofmanns (NkZ 25, 1914, 167–205).

JATHO. *Jatho, Carl O.*, Briefe von Carl Jatho. xxxvii, 406 pp. Jena, Diederichs, 1914.

KAEHLER. *Herrmann, Rudolf*, Der Begriff der religiös-sittlichen Anlage in der Apologetik Kählers (BFTh 21, 4). 24 pp. 1917. — *Zänker, Otto*, Grundlinien der Theologie Martin Kählers (BFTh 18, 5). 101 pp. 1914.

KOLDE. *Jordan, Hermann*, Theodor Kolde. vi, 199 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1914.

LAGARDE. *Schemann, Ludwig*, Paul de Lagarde. xvi, 410 pp. Leipzig, Matthes, 1919.

NIETZSCHE. See OVERBECK.

NIPPOLD. Verzeichnis der im Druck erschienenen Arbeiten von Professor Friedrich Nippold (Ikz 9, 1919, 150–168).

OVERBECK. Christentum und Kultur: Gedanken und Anmerkungen zur modernen Theologie von Franz Overbeck. Aus dem Nachlass hrsg. von *Carl Albrecht Bernoulli*. xxxvi, 302 pp. Basel, Schwabe, 1919.

RITSCHL. *Kuipers, R.*, De Theologie van Albrecht Ritschl. Groningen dissertation. Harlongen, van den Zwang. 1914.

SCHLEIERMACHER. *Benrath, Gustav Adolf*, Schleiermachers Bekenntnispredigten von 1830, ihrer Entstehung und ihrem Inhalt nach untersucht und

dargestellt. Dissertation. 110 pp. Königsberg, Hartung, 1917. — *Dunkmann, Karl*, Die theologische Prinzipienlehre Schleiermachers nach der "Kurzen Darstellung" und ihre Begründung durch die Ethik (BFTb 20, 2). 154 pp. 1916; Die Nachwirkungen der theologischen Prinzipienlehre Schleiermachers (*ibid.*, 19, 2). 200 pp. 1915. — *Elstner, Josefa* and *Klingner, Erich*, Briefe Schleiermachers an August Wilhelm Schlegel. Nach der Handschrift hrsgg. (Euphorion 21, 1914, 584-597; 736-772). — *Hartmann, Hans*, Schleiermachers Stellung zum Bekenntnis (ZThK 24, 1914, 285-362). — *Heinsius, Maria*, Der Streit über theozentrische und anthropozentrische Theologie in Hinblick auf die theozentrische Grundposition Schleiermachers. 111 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1918. — *Hering, Hermann*, Samuel Ernst Timotheus Stubenrauch und sein Neffe Friedrich Schleiermacher (BFTb 23, 5). 124 pp. 1918. — *Herpel, Otto*, Das Wesen der Kirche nach den Voraussetzungen und Grundsätzen des jungen Schleiermacher. Giessen dissertation. 95 pp. Darmstadt, Winter, 1915. — *Loew, Wilhelm*, Das Grundproblem der Ethik Schleiermachers in seiner Beziehung zu Kants Ethik (Kantstudien, Ergänzungsheft 31). 113 pp. 1914. — *Meisner, Heinrich*, ed., Schleiermachers Briefwechsel mit seiner Braut. 414 pp. Gotha, Perthes, 1919. — *Mulert, Hermann*, Schleiermacher (RV 4, 28-29). 64 pp. 1918. — *Otto, Rudolf*, ed., Ueber die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern. Von Friedrich Schleiermacher. In ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt mit fortlaufender Uebersicht des Gedankenganges neu herausgegeben. 4th edition. xlvii, 191 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1920. — *Piper, Otto*, Das religiöse Erlebnis. Eine kritische Analyse der Reden Schleiermachers über die Religion. iv, 146 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1920. — *Reuter, Hans*, Zu Schleiermachers Lehre des "Gesamtlebens" (Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche 21). 31 pp. Berlin, Trowitzsch, 1914; Schleiermachers Stellung zur Idee der Nation und des nationalen Staats (ThStKr 91, 1918, 439-503). — *Satler, Walter*, Beiträge zur Schleiermacherforschung (ThStKr 89, 1916, 402-416, 529-540). — *Schaefer, Ernst*, Schleiermacher. Rede zur Feier seines 150. Geburtstages, gehalten an der Universität Breslau (BFTb 23, 5). 30 pp. 1919. — *Schiele, Friedrich Michael*, ed., Friedrich Schleiermachers Monologen nebst den Vorakten. With introduction, bibliography, index, and notes. Second enlarged edition by Hermann Mulert (Philosophische Bibliothek 84). xlviii, 199 pp. Leipzig, Meiner, 1914. — *Scholz, Heinrich*, Schleiermacher und Goethe. 2d edition. 72 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914. — *Schulte, Robert Werner*, Schleiermachers Monologen in ihrem Verhältnis zu Kants Ethik (Vierteljahrsschrift für Philosophie und Soziologie 40, 1916, 300-320). — *Siegfried, Theodor*, Das romantische Prinzip in Schleiermachers Reden über die Religion. Jena dissertation. 67 pp. Berlin, Strauss, 1916. — *Wehrung, Georg*, Die philosophisch-theologische Methode Schleiermachers. Strasburg dissertation. 143 pp. Göttingen, Huth, 1915. — *Wendland, Johannes*, Die religiöse Entwicklung Schleiermachers. viii, 243 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1915. — *Wienecke, Gottlieb*, Schleiermachers Gottesbegriff verglichen mit demjenigen J. G. Fichtes. Dissertation. 139 pp. Greifswald, Adler, 1914.

SCHUBERT. *Bonwetsch, Gustav Nathanael*, Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert in seinen Briefen. Ein Lebensbild. xii, 480 pp. Stuttgart, Belser, 1918.

SEEBERG. *Seeberg, Reinhold*, Worte des Gedächtnisses an Dr. Alfred Seeberg, nebst Arbeiten aus seinem Nachlass. 110 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1916.

STOECKER. *Norel, Okke*, Adolf Stöcker en zijn sociaal-ethisch streven. Dissertation. 219 pp. Utrecht, Keminck, 1914.

STOECKHARDT. *Willkomm, Otto*, Dr. theol. Georg Stöckhardt. Lebensbild eines deutsch-amerikanischen Theologen. 149 pp. Zwickau, Herrmann, 1914.

STUBENRAUCH. See above, SCHLEIERMACHER, *Hering*.

THEREMIN. *Frommel, Otto*, Franz Theremin. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Geschichte der Predigt. vii, 311 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1915.

TROELTSCH. *Günther, Walter*, Die Grundlagen der Religionsphilosophie Ernst Troeltsch's (Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte hrsg. von Richard Falckenberg 24). viii, 109 pp. Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer, 1914. — *Lindeboom, J.*, De dogmenhistorische theorieën van Ernst Troeltsch (ThT 53, 1919, 181-223). — *Wendland, Johannes*, Philosophie und Christentum bei Ernst Troeltsch im Zusammenhang mit der Philosophie und Theologie des letzten Jahrhunderts (ZThK 24, 1914, 129-165).

WEISS. Zum Gedächtnis von Dr. Bernhard Weiss. 86 pp. Berlin, Furcher-verlag, 1917.

ZAHN. Zahn-Bibliographie. Verzeichnis der Veröffentlichungen Theodor von Zahns. 31 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1919.

SCHLEIERMACHER. Schleiermacher was not included in our review of German idealism (this REVIEW, July, 1924), although the young Schleiermacher stood in the closest spiritual relation to the idealists and romanticists, and his early writings mark the summit of their influence on theology. Works like that of *Scholz* on Schleiermacher and Goethe — a new edition of an essay which appeared in 1912 — and that of *Wienecke* on Schleiermacher's and Fichte's conception of God, might equally well have been named there. But the young Schleiermacher is not to be separated from the older one, and it is his life-work as a whole which has exerted such a persistent influence on the theology of the 19th century and down to the present day, and which keeps finding expression in many writings treating of Schleiermacher. Moreover, the observance of his 150th birthday in 1919 brought before us with singular impressiveness the man who, as *Schaeder* says in his worthy memorial address, apprehended the inner nature of faith and built upon it a real science of religion, a theology worthy of the name. For

the historian it will long remain an irreparable loss that Dilthey was not permitted to finish his profound biography of the great theologian. The short sketch which *Mulert* has now written for the "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher" cannot take its place, but deserves attention because the author, as Dilthey's literary executor, has made a close study of the material.²

Wendland's book, clearly and simply written, affords an excellent idea of Schleiermacher's religious development, and is especially adapted for introduction to the subject. The author has not attempted to make any new contribution, but his intimate knowledge of Schleiermacher gives him that mastery of the material which is the first requisite for such an exposition. His liberal extracts from the sermons of the young Schleiermacher (1790-1801) constitute a valuable feature. The brevity of his treatment of the significant relation of Schleiermacher to the romanticists has been justly deplored by Scholz (*ThLz*, 1916, 30).

In the officially required autobiography written by Schleiermacher in 1794, at the age of twenty-six, he names, as the man to whom at the crisis of his religious experience (1786) he owed wise counsel and practical help, his mother's brother, Stubenrauch, professor of theology at Halle. *Hering* has done well to direct attention to this excellent, if not exactly eminent, man. He tells of his life and his theological position, dwelling with special detail on the relations of uncle and nephew, which were by no means confined to this early period. He has made a fresh and welcome contribution to the history of Schleiermacher's development.

Less source for a biography than a mirror of two noble souls devoted to one another is the correspondence which Schleiermacher carried on in the years from 1804 to 1809 with Henriette, wife of his friend von Willich, and later, after the early death of her husband, his own bride. The letters had previously been published only in part and from imperfect copies. *Meisner* has now made them accessible in their entirety and in worthy

² Mulert has since published a second edition of the first and only volume of Dilthey's work, adding to it parts of the continuation from the author's papers (xxxii, 879 pp. Berlin and Leipzig, Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1922).

form. — The letters to August Wilhelm Schlegel, edited by Fräulein *Elstner* and provided with introduction and notes by *Klingner*, form another valuable contribution to the understanding of Schleiermacher at about the year 1800. The bold, and to our thinking presumptuous, attitude of that young generation is here freshly illustrated. Schleiermacher had the audacity to call Schiller, for whom he had no liking, a “ridiculous creature (*risibles Subjekt*),” and in so many words to consign Schiller’s *Wallenstein* to oblivion. — When he wrote these letters, Schleiermacher had already published anonymously the great program of his romantic piety, the “*Reden über die Religion an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*.” Two monographs of some importance are occupied with the *Reden*, of which also *Otto’s* critical edition has again been reprinted. *Siegfried* succeeds in bringing out clearly the romantic character of the *Reden* and at the same time emphasizes Schleiermacher’s conscious distinction from the idealists (*Fichte*); his dissertation contains many keen observations. It closes with a reference to Schelling’s promotion-thesis, “*Enthusiasmus est principium artis et scientiae*.” This was also the view of the young Schleiermacher, for whom enthusiasm meant that power and energy of the spirit which sustains and vitalizes thought. — *Piper*, by means of a critical analysis of the *Reden*, suggests a new interpretation of their purpose. In his opinion they are not so much an investigation of the nature and truth of religion as rather confessions of belief, complete in themselves. To the present reviewer, *Piper’s* discussion is not always comprehensible. Perhaps this is due to the lack of vividness, indeed the dullness, of his style, and to his continual discussion of the views of other students of Schleiermacher, which assumes a very exact knowledge of the literature on the subject. That he takes no notice of *Siegfried’s* work seems to me a defect. — *Herpel’s* studies deal not only with the *Reden* but also with the *Monologen* and other writings of Schleiermacher down to 1803. He shows that Schleiermacher’s idea of the church is not that of the sects, but embraces a universal church, and yet is not the orthodox, supernaturalist idea of the church as a divine institution, although he accepted certain

elements of that idea. His conception of the church as a religious and moral community had its roots in his peculiar fundamental view of intuition (*Anschauung*), a view which finds its classical expression in the *Reden*, and which Herpel has succeeded in clearly elucidating. — Emphatic commendation is due to *Schiele's* excellent edition of the *Monologen*, now made still more valuable by Mulert's additions.

The mature Schleiermacher stated his conception of theology as a science in the essay of 1811 which he entitled "Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums." In this manual of theological "encyclopaedia" he sketched with exquisite conciseness and lucidity the outlines of a body of thought which was destined to inspire and enrich whole generations of theologians. From the principles of the "Kurze Darstellung" and the reasoned proof of them in the "Ethik" *Dunkmann* presents a picture of Schleiermacher as a theologian whose whole effort was directed to understanding and systematizing theology as a truly positive (not positivist or merely historical) thing, and as at the same time a "scientific" discipline in the sense that it is not dependent on ecclesiastical and traditional motives. In conclusion *Dunkmann* discusses the criticisms of Schleiermacher's "Prinzipienlehre" made by Bender (1882), Süsskind (1909 and 1911), and *Wehrung* (1911; the work cited above is an unchanged reprint). — *Dunkmann's* second study has for its subject the influence of Schleiermacher's "Glaubenslehre" (1821), here again only principles and method coming under consideration. *Dunkmann* still sees in Schleiermacher the "Great Unknown" from whom alone the twentieth century can hope for progress and reform in Protestant theology. To his thinking, Schleiermacher set up aims and developed methods which were entirely misunderstood by those who came after him, and which, if once more pursued, would have a decisive significance for the present day.³ He discusses the subject

³ It may here be remarked that, in opposition to this judgment, the latest generation of German theologians, who have come forward since 1920 — such men as Barth, Gogarten, and Brunner — are frankly turning their backs upon Schleiermacher and even declaring war on his theology. For this tendency, see *Ferdinand Kattenbusch*, "Die deutsche evangelische Theologie seit Schleiermacher. Ihre Leistungen und ihre

under the following heads: (1) Criticism of the "Glaubenslehre" from highly diverse points of view, Catholic, supernaturalist, mediating, rationalistic, speculative. (2) The positive influences: Twisten, Nietzsche, Rothe, Schweizer, Hofmann. (3) Critical resumption (*Wiederanknüpfung*): Ritschl, the present.⁴ — Fräulein *Heinsius*, a pupil of Georg Wobbermin (formerly professor at Heidelberg, now at Göttingen), takes Schleiermacher's fundamental position in theology as the starting-point for a criticism of the theocentric theology of Erich Schaefer ("Theozentrische Theologie," Leipzig, Deichert, 1909) and the anthropocentric theology of James H. Leuba ("A Psychological Study of Religion," New York, Macmillan, 1912). In opposition to the assumption of a dilemma, she sees in Schleiermacher's position the pattern of a union of the theocentric and anthropocentric elements. Her vigorous criticism of Leuba ensures the attention of American readers to her book.

Two studies are concerned with the relation of Schleiermacher's ethical views to those of Kant. *Schulte* sees in Schleiermacher an advance on Kant, in that the rigid one-sidedness of the categorical imperative of duty is transcended through emphasis on the personal character of morality. — *Loew*, on the other hand, who is from the school of the Marburg philosopher Cohen, is plainly of the opinion that Schleiermacher was wrong in his divergence from Kant, since, in accordance with his psychological starting-point, he bound ethics again in the fetters of naturalism, from which Kant had freed it. — *Reuter* has given us an admirable study of Schleiermacher's idea of "life as a whole (*Gesamtleben*). By that term Schleiermacher means the organic connection which he has endeavored to establish in thought between the spiritual and moral shaping of the individual, that is, of the single subject, and the equally spiritual and moral objective developments which proceed from a totality and hence are super-individual. Reuter traces

Schäden" (fourth, completely revised edition of "Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl"). viii, 124 pp. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1924.

⁴ Dunkmann has developed his ideas in a definitive system in his book, "Religionsphilosophische Kritik der religiösen Erfahrung als Grundlegung christlicher Theologie." Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1917.

the development of this idea from the Reden down to the lectures on psychology of the year 1830. — The works of *Hartmann* and *Benrath* take us in quite another direction. The question of what lasting value for the doctrine and life of the church resides in the Lutheran confessional books, especially in the *Confessio Augustana*, received much attention from theologians about the year 1830, when preparations were made for celebrating the three-hundredth anniversary of the presentation of the Confession to the Diet of Augsburg. At that time Schleiermacher delivered a number of sermons in which he took occasion to make a comprehensive exposition of his attitude toward the question of creeds. *Benrath* subjects the first four of these sermons to an elaborate analysis, while *Hartmann* goes farther back than 1830 and summarizes and explains Schleiermacher's statements of principles at earlier dates.

RITSCHL; TROELTSCH; FRANK; STOECKER. In turning to the writings which deal with the life and work of the German theologians of the nineteenth century after Schleiermacher, it is a pleasure to find that the work of these men has made so strong an impression in neighboring Holland. No less than five books and articles in Dutch are devoted to German theologians and churchmen. *Kuiper's* dissertation on Ritschl and *Lindeboom's* article on Troeltsch I have not been able to see, but from my own perusal of the dissertation of *Fräulein Bruining* on Frank of Erlangen, and that of *Roose* on Herrmann of Marburg I can affirm not only that both have approached their task with seriousness and scholarly zeal, but that they have achieved success. *Fräulein Bruining* attacks effectively Frank's attempt to clothe Lutheran orthodoxy in a new dress, while *Roose* confines himself to reproducing the ideas of Herrmann, whom he heard lecture for a year at Marburg. Both essays are the more welcome that nothing in German corresponds to them. — *Norel* has written with personal affection. For him, the Berlin preacher Adolf Stöcker († 1909), the originator of the Christian-social movement in Germany and for decades its indefatigable champion, is one of the great men of his time. He deals with Stöcker's life, personality, and theological and social thinking, and with his influence on his con-

temporaries; and has succeeded in drawing a life-like portrait of his hero.

In taking up the following works, the alphabetical order is observed in two series, first for the theologians properly so called, then for the thinkers on the philosophy of religion.

CREMER; DREWS. Cremer's "Schriftgedanken," published by his son, are chips from the workshop of this influential Greifswald professor († 1903). — *Eger* writes sympathetically of the life-work of Paul Drews († 1912), professor at Giessen and Halle, whose high reputation rests on his numerous telling works on the history of practical theology and on "Kirchenkunde," which he developed as a special discipline.

HENGSTENBERG; HOFMANN; JATHO. The Berlin theologian Hengstenberg († 1869) was an ardent defender of the orthodox Reformation theology and ecclesiastical system, equally hated by his opponents and honored by his friends. He founded, and for decades conducted, the "Evangelische Kirchenzeitung," and the letters written to him are full of material for the history of German Protestantism. They are published by *Bonwetsch* from his papers now in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin. No less than eighty individuals, including some very eminent persons, are represented in these letters. The latter justify the editor's observation that Hengstenberg went his own way, unmoved by approval or contradiction or by the favor or disfavor of the authorities, endeavoring the while to lead others in what he deemed the right path. The letters written to him by Heinrich Leo, one of the ablest German historians of the period of Ranke, well illustrate the character of both correspondents. — J. C. K. von Hofmann († 1897) is known far beyond the bounds of Germany as the intellectual leader of the so-called Erlangen school. *Wapler's* work now satisfies an often-expressed desire for a biography, and, as the author justly claims, is also a contribution to the history of the fundamental theological discussions and the ecclesiastical and political movements of the nineteenth century. For Hofmann was no recluse, devoted solely to his studies and the routine of his immediate calling, but was active in public life as well. The reserve with which he always kept

himself in the background behind the cause which he vigorously espoused, makes it far from easy for a biographer to give a complete picture either of his own development or of his public activity. But the present author fully succeeds in showing the unity of Hofmann's life-work amidst all its variety, and so in explaining his great historical importance and continued influence to the present day. For this reason the convincing presentation of the organic unity of Hofmann's theological system, drawn with loving care and thorough understanding, is most welcome. — Even in America the name of Karl Jatho († 1913) must be known, the Cologne pastor who made no concealment even in the pulpit of his departure from the dogmas of the church and was therefore formally deposed from his office in 1911. His letters, collected by his son, are those of a liberal-minded and warm-hearted man; they come from the heart and touch the the heart. One cannot read them without a feeling of sympathy, and it is easy to understand why, even after his deposition as pastor, Jatho was honored as an inspiring leader by a large congregation.

KAHLER; KOLDE; NIPPOLD. Martin Kähler († 1912), professor of systematic theology at Halle, exercised in his long years of teaching a powerful influence over a whole generation of theological students, but a constructive presentation of his theology is difficult, since he himself never published a complete statement of it. *Zänker* tries, so far as possible, to let Kähler speak for himself. A list of his writings would be a useful addition, as their titles in part determine the divisions of *Zänker's* summary. — *Hermann* finds the leading thought of Kähler's apologetics in the idea of the religious and moral nature, but on the side of method he has strong objections to this idea, and regrets its presence in Kähler's apologetics, since it hinders the use of the latter for theological purposes. — Theodor Kolde († 1913), church historian at Erlangen, known for his writings on the history of the Reformation, especially for his biography of Luther, led the quiet life of a scholar. His successor, the late *H. Jordan* (see HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, 1924, pp. 21f.), wrote a sympathetic biography, with the aid of abundant material drawn from the most varied

sources. He shows the position occupied by Kolde's learned work in the history of theology and in church history. — The list of writings by Friedrich Nippold († 1918), professor of church history at Jena, bears witness to uncommon literary productivity, although opinions differ as to their scholarly value (see above p. 159).

OVERBECK. Franz Overbeck, professor of church history at Basel, belonged to the same generation as Kolde and Nippold, but was a man of quite a different stamp. While Kolde was a moderate Lutheran and Nippold a passionately partisan liberal, Overbeck, although professor of theology, was a bitter opponent of modern theology, which he once characterized as "the Satan of religion," and the "christlikeness" of which he more than doubted. During his lifetime his name was but little known beyond the circle of closer colleagues, who valued him chiefly for his services to patristic learning, but since his death in 1905 all the more has been said about him, not only as a friend of Nietzsche, who was much younger than he but with whom he maintained an active intercourse both in person and by letter,⁵ but still more through the publication of some of his literary remains, which give an insight into the scarcely suspected riches of his full mind. One of these posthumous publications, the account of scholasticism in the Middle Ages, has already been mentioned in our survey (HThR XV, 1922, 381). The book now to be considered, compiled by the editor *Bernoulli* from notes, bears the title "Christentum und Kultur." The observations with which the author accompanies a sketch of church history, keen and too aphoristic as they are, are meant to let us see that Christianity and civilization are irreconcilably opposed to one another, and that modern theology, in trying to disguise or deny this contradiction, is doing the work of Satan. It is sad that hatred blinded the clear vision of the author in a degree to which a parallel would be hard to name. Ritschl's theology in particular was like a red rag to a

⁵ See *Carl Albrecht Bernoulli*, "Franz Overbeck und Friedrich Nietzsche." 2 vols. Jena, Diederichs, 1900; and "Friedrich Nietzsches Briefwechsel mit Franz Overbeck," hrsg. von *Richard Oehler* und *Carl Albrecht Bernoulli*. Leipzig, Inselverlag, 1916.

bull for Overbeck, and the real scapegoat is Harnack. Unedifying as all this is, the book nevertheless contains much that is valuable, and is not to be neglected by students of history.

TROELTSCH; B. WEISS; ZAHN. The great impression made on his contemporaries by the writings of Troeltsch († 1923) on the philosophy of religion, is shown by the detailed special studies of his thought made in his lifetime. *Günther's* monograph is distinguished by painstaking study of all Troeltsch's published utterances on the subject and of all the books and articles commenting on them. He distinguishes two main phases of Troeltsch's development: (1) The influence of Hegel and metaphysics; (2) the subsequent influence of the philosophy of Windelband and Rickert. The latter had the effect that Troeltsch, turning his mind to psychology and the theory of knowledge, lost his sense for metaphysics, which ought to have been indispensable as the foundation of his philosophy of religion. — *Wendland*, in his clear and restrained manner (see above p. 166), sets forth the relation of Troeltsch to earlier tendencies since Schleiermacher, and on that background presents Troeltsch's own ideas on philosophy, the philosophy of religion, and doctrine. — Well worth reading is the little book in which friends and pupils of Bernard Weiss († 1918) have written of his life and his importance in the study of the New Testament and early Christianity. The appended list of his writings is unfortunately limited to those published in book form. — A complete list of the writings of Theodor Zahn comes from his friends and colleagues, who made this gift a surprise to the famous scholar on his eightieth birthday.

FEUERBACH; HILTY; SCHUBERT. The dissertations of *Girkon* and *Henne* on Feuerbach's philosophy of religion are not above the average and have little to offer to scholars, but *Hack's* dissertation on the conception of Christianity of Karl Hilty († 1909), the Bern jurist, is of value. Hilty was, and perhaps still is, widely read, the editions of his ethical works, particularly "Glück," having gone into the hundred-thousands. The criticism has been made, indeed, that in finding the roots of religion in the striving for happiness he ranges himself beside Feuerbach, and like him fails to avoid the dangers

of illusionism. But even though Hilty, too, seems to make the wish the father of the thought, it yet is true, objective realities, especially the great reality God, that he is able to bring before us. After all, he definitely represents Christianity, and is worthy to be compared with Kierkegaard in his power of clearly stating the dilemma of Christian ethics. — The letters of Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert († 1860), professor of the philosophy of nature and of psychology, reveal a full inner life. Not so much by his writings as by his personality he exercised a deep influence on a wide circle, especially among those pietistically inclined, and was a true child of God, of whom it was said that no one could harbor an evil thought in his presence, and that anyone who had been with him was a better man, at least for a day or two. *Bonwetsch* has written an instructive introduction to these beautiful letters.

LAGARDE; BISMARCK. In closing this survey, I would draw attention to two men whose names are known all over the world and who, widely different as they were from one another, are yet to be regarded, each in his own way, as representative of the German spirit in the generation now past. Paul de Lagarde († 1891), professor at Göttingen, one of the most effective workers in the field of oriental languages that ever lived, and pioneer in modern “*religionsgeschichtliche Methode*,” was at the same time full of the keenest interest in public affairs, and with his “*Deutsche Schriften*” entered actively into the questions of the day. His aim was to show his fellow-countrymen how, after overthrowing confessional barriers, they might attach themselves to the great idealists of the spring-time of the German soul, and so attain to a new religious life founded in ethics. The biography by *Schemann*, one of Lagarde’s enthusiastic followers, shows him in the clearest light as scholar, religious thinker and innovator, publicist, teacher, and, not least of all, as a convinced German. The book should dissipate many a prejudice, and should find readers also on the other side of the ocean among those who desire to understand the German character.

The other man is Otto von Bismarck, whose inner nature is a sealed book to all those who see in him the man of force, de-

spising standards of ethics and religion. The works named in the bibliography, especially *Baumgarten's* fine book,⁶ will at any rate open the eyes of such persons to the fact that responsibility to God was the deepest source of his sense of duty, which aimed not to rule but to serve. Any who look deeper will also see that this sense of duty was raised to its great height by his firm faith in Christianity. It is true that Bismarck's religion had absolutely nothing Calvinistic about it, but was rooted in Luther's piety, a difference which goes too deep to be more than alluded to here.

c. Holland and her Colonies

Beets, Henry, De Afscheiding van de Gereformeerde Hollandsche Kerk in Nord Amerika in 1822, in hare wortelen, voorloopen en leidens (NAKG 13, 1917, 340-368). — *Boersema, K. H.*, Allard Pierson, eene cultuur-historische studie. xv, 506 pp. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1920. — *Busé, H. T.*, Het modernisme in Friesland omstreeks 1870 (NAKG 15, 1919, 81-114); De verdwenen doopsgezinde gemeenten in Friesland (Vrije Fries 22, 1914, 125-143). — *Gewin, E.*, In den Réveilkring. 213 pp. Baarn, Hollandia-drukkerij, 1920. — *Kemp, P. H. van der*, Van den Ambonischen sendeling J. Carey, 1814, 1917 (Mededeelingen Nederlandsche Zendel.-Gen. 61, 1917, 218-265). — *Knappert, L.*, Uit de geschiedenis van het Réveil (ThT 61, 1917, 39-70; 62, 1918, 52-91); Kerkelijk leven in Nederland in onzen tijd. Two parts. 53, 48 pp. Groningen, Wolters, 1919. — *Loosjes, J.*, Jan Jacobsz en de Jan-Jacobsgezinden (NAKG 11, 1914, 185-240); Jan Magereeuw en zijn secte (*ibid.*, 15, 1919, 25-48). — *Malsen, H. van*, Groen van Prinssterer en Heinrich Leo (Onze eeuw 14, 1914, 233-257). — *Moorrus, F. D. G.*, Leven en bedrijf van Hessel Rooker, sendeling, leeraer, later hulpprediker te Fondano in de Minchassa (Celebes). Nijmegen, H. ten Hoet, 1918. — *Roessingh, K. H.*, De moderne theologie in Nederland. Hare voorbereiding en eerste periode. Leyden dissertation. 208 pp. Groningen, Erven van der Kamp, 1914; Het modernisme in Nederland. 256 pp. Haarlem, Erven Bohn, 1922. — *Rullmann, J. C.*, De afscheiding in de Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk der xix^e eeuw. 2d edition. Amsterdam, Kirchner, 1916; De doleantie in de Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk der xix^e eeuw. Historisch geschetst. *Ibid.*, 1916. — *Slee, J. C. van*, De illustre school te Deventer 1630-1878. Hare geschiedenis, hoogleeraren en studenten, met bijvoeging van het album studiosorum. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1916. — *Weiss, H.*, Vier maanden in Suriname. 166 pp. 80 illustrations. Nijkerk, Callenbach, 1915; Het zendingwerk der Herrnhutters in de verwonden van de Boven-Suriname (West-Indische Gids 1, 102-110). — *Wumkes, G. A.*, Uit het leven en levenswerk van J. van Dijk. 224 pp. Doelincem, Wielenga, 1917.

⁶ See also the same author's collection of Bismarck's sayings under the title "Bismarck's Religion" (Klassiker der Religion 16). 154 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922.

For the selection and characterization of the books in the foregoing list I am indebted to Professor L. Knappert of Leyden.

The most important of the works are those which deal with the fortunes of the Netherlandish Reformed Church. In the nineteenth century, as is well known, various movements within this church resulted in the secession of larger and smaller groups. *Beets* writes of the earliest of these withdrawals from the Herformde Kerk, that of the "True Reformed Dutch Church," which arose in the United States in 1822 under the leadership of Dr. Solomon Froeligh. — In consequence of a religious revival movement (*Réveil*) which penetrated the Netherlands from Geneva, a number of persons to whom the state control over church affairs initiated in 1816, and the consequent freedom of teaching, were intolerable, separated from the church in 1834 and formed their own communion (De Afscheidenen), which was legally recognized in 1839, and in 1869 took the name of "Christelijk gereformeerde Kerk." In 1892 they made a union, under the name of "Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland," with the "Gereformeerde" ("Doleer-ende," 'Mourners,' whence "Doleantie"), a body which had likewise seceded from the state-church and whose leader was Abraham Kuyper. Several books and articles treat of these movements. *Rullmann*, pastor of the Gereformeerde Kerk in Amsterdam, has written two books, both based on diligent use of the original sources. The first describes the events prior to the secession of 1834 and the prominent men, such as De Cock and Scholte; the second treats of the Doleantie. — *Gewin* describes four of the leaders of the Réveil: Capadosa, Da Corta, Willem de Clercq, and Mevrouw Groen van Prinsterer, wife of an eminent statesman who recognized in the forces of the Réveil the best defense against revolution, in sympathy with kindred spirits in Germany, such as Heinrich Leo (see van Malsen's article and compare p. 171 above). — *Knappert*, using unpublished letters, gives a picture of Willem de Clercq, his family and his travels. — The men of the Réveil also furnished the original incentive to Allard Pierson, who later, under the influence of Opzoomer and the so-called

Groningen school, took a freer position. Professor for a time at Heidelberg, afterwards at Utrecht and Amsterdam, he was chiefly distinguished as a student of the history of art, but also entered the field of theological discussion with a work on the Hebrew prophets and critical studies on the New Testament entitled "*Verisimilia*." He was a man of importance, and his life is graphically described by *Boersema*. — The studies of *Roessingh*, now professor at Leyden, deal with the type of Dutch theology commonly stamped by its opponents as modernism. The first book, written with thorough knowledge of the subject and freedom from prejudice, carries the historical and critical study of the movement from its early years to its consummation in Scholten and the Mennonite Hoekstra. The second, although not published until 1922, must be noticed here, since it is a kind of continuation of the first. It shows the place of this modern theology among the movements of thought of the period about 1860, outlines its growth and influence, its tendencies and nuances, and to some account of the present adds a glance into the future. Full use is made of the literature of the subject. — *Busé* shows the marked similarity between Frisian modernism (van Toen) and the Groningen school (Hofstede de Groot).

Knappert's sketches from the church life of to-day in Holland deal with Jews, Roman Catholics, Old Catholics, and Protestants. — An important contribution to the history of home missions is *Wumkes'* biography of Jan van Dijk, founder of the institutions at Doelincum for training pastors of the Hervormde Kerk, and a leading figure in home missions. — *Weiss* tells of his visit to the Moravians in Surinam, describing particularly the present condition of their mission. — The sectarian Jan Mazereeuw was a follower of Jane Leade (†1704) the visionary, — spiritual kinswoman of the mystic John Pordage. His sect is still in existence and is described by *Loosje*, with the use of new sources of information furnished by the present leaders of the society.

d. *England*

Brilioth, Yngve, Nyanglikansk renässans. Studier till den engelska kyrkans utveckling under 1800-talet (KÅ 21, 1920-21, 87-184).

Brilioth's article in the *Kyrkohistoriska Årsskrift*, the first of a series, is an extremely interesting exposition of the factors contributing to the rise of the "Anglican revival," the best-known aspect of which was the Oxford movement. These factors the author finds to have been the high-church tradition of the Caroline high-anglicanism of the seventeenth century and the evangelical movement, proceeding from Methodism, which poured its religious energy into the high-church party of the nineteenth century. In A. Knox, in whom the high-church and evangelical tendencies are typically blended, he sees the "forerunner" of the new Anglicanism. The neo-anglican movement, however, was not a little influenced by the romantic movement in literature (Sir Walter Scott) and by earlier theological liberalism (Whately, Arnold). From Whately and Coleridge the new Anglicanism has taken over the demand for the independence of the church from the state.

e. *The Scandinavian Countries*1. *Denmark*

GENERAL. *Kirkelig Forening* for Indie Mission i Köbenhavn 1865-1915. 206 pp. Copenhagen, Bethesda, 1916. — *Köbenhavns Kirkesog* 1890-1915. 262 pp. Copenhagen, Gad, 1915. — *Poulsen, A. S.*, Bibelselskabet for Danmark. 50 pp. Copenhagen, Lehmann & Stage, 1914.

GRUNDTVIG. *Helveg, H.*, Grundtvigs Sindsygd. 128 pp. Copenhagen, Koppel, 1918. — *Roemming, F.*, N. F. S. Grundtvig. 4 vols. 178 + 188, 268 + 200, 198 + 229, 160 + 224 pp. Copenhagen, Schoenberg, 1907-1914.

KIERKEGAARD. *Heiberg, A.* and *Ruhr, V.*, Soeren Kierkegaards Papirer. Vols. I-IX. Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1919; Kierkegaard-Studier I-III. *Ibid.*, 1912-1913. — *Jørgensen, P. P.*, H. P. Kofved-Hansen. 624 pp. Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1920. — *Koch, Carl*, Soeren Kierkegaard. 184 pp. Copenhagen, Schönberg, 1916. — *Lehmann, Edvard*, Sören Kierkegaard (RKL 8-9). 295 pp. Berlin-Schöneberg, Protestantischer Schriftenvertrieb, 1913 (now Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht). — *Reuter, Hans*, S. Kierkegaards religionsphilosophische Gedanken im Verhältnis zu Hegels religionsphilosophischem System (Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte 23). vi, 131 pp. Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer, 1914. — *Sodeur, Gottlieb*, Kierkegaard und Nietzsche (RV 5, 14). 48 pp. 1914.

The following notes on works written in the Danish language were kindly supplied to me by Dr. Valdemar Ammundsen, formerly professor at Copenhagen, now bishop of the Lutheran church at Hadersleben, Schleswig.

The peculiar method of the Danish church has been to retain its position as an established church but within this to develop freedom and voluntary effort to an unusual degree. Several of the separate departments of its religious work have published memorial volumes, two of them being composed by various authors and describing respectively the evangelistic work in India (1865-1915) and the remarkable church extension in the Danish capital in the years 1890 to 1915, while *Poulsen* gives a brief sketch of the history of the Danish Bible Society since 1817.

GRUNDTVIG. Two men in the Danish Church of the nineteenth century are gaining greater international importance year by year — Grundtvig and Kierkegaard. The voluminous biography of Grundtvig by *Roennning* gives detailed and trustworthy information, but is marred by the author's partisanship for his hero. — The mental disease which broke out several times in the life of Grundtvig is studied from a medical point of view by *Helveg*, and defined as a "manio-depressive psychosis."

KIERKEGAARD. Of the private papers (journals, sketches, etc.) of Kierkegaard an older and incomplete edition was published by Barford and Gottsched, but the new and painstaking edition by *Heiberg* and *Ruhr* is indispensable for scholarly study. From his twentieth year to within a few months of his death (1855) Kierkegaard kept journals in which he recorded his inmost thoughts. The volumes published up to 1920 cover the years 1837 to 1848. The editors deal with important points in Kierkegaard's youth, and their studies deserve serious attention, although some of their hypotheses remain doubtful. — *Koch's* book is certainly the best work in Danish for giving a first impression of the unique and solitary thinker. — In Germany Kierkegaard has long been highly regarded as writer and thinker, and it is welcome that Professor *Lehmann* of Lund, a Dane by birth but thoroughly familiar with German

through his long service at the University of Berlin, has collected for the series "Klassiker der Religion" the most impressive passages from Kierkegaard's writings and so made possible an insight into the organic structure of his not easily understood lifework. In the work of translation he had the assistance of a younger German scholar, *Reuter*, who has entered deeply into the mind of the Danish thinker. How deeply, can be seen in the work in which *Reuter* compares Hegel and Kierkegaard. The latter is represented as hostile to intellectualism and to the conception of the necessary development of the idea, that is, to Hegel's idealism, and in particular is portrayed as the representative of the view of religion as truth subjectively and personally apprehended by faith, in contrast to Hegel's conception of religion as one step in the objective course of the process by which the absolute spirit becomes conscious of itself. If to Hegel God is the Idea, to Kierkegaard He is the absolute personality, the absolute subject.—As *Reuter* compares Hegel with Kierkegaard, so *Sodeur* makes similar comparison of Nietzsche, and perhaps with better right, for these were kindred spirits, with a far-reaching agreement in their mode of approach to the highest questions. Yet one can scarcely imagine a greater contrast than is to be seen in the results of their thinking and in their ultimate attitude to the world and to life. Both agreement and contrast are clearly and convincingly presented by *Sodeur*.—*Jørgensen* has written a biography of Kofved-Hansen, a disciple of Kierkegaard, who ultimately entered the Roman Catholic Church. The book contains also much material about Kierkegaard himself and about the whole life of the Danish church at that time.

2. Norway

Brandrud, Andreas, Tre år norsk kirkehistorie 1916-1918 (NThT 1919, 1-56). — *Brekke, Egel*, ed., Fra den norske kirke. Norske presters årbok for 1914. 163 pp. Trondhjem, 1914. — *Brun, Christian*, Blåbogiannene (NThT 1916, 160-186). — *Heggtveit, H. G.*, Den norske kirke i det uttende århundrede. ii, 970 pp. Illustrated. Christiania, 1912-1920. — *Kolsrud, Olaf*, Det norske bibelselskab 1816-1916. 112 pp. Christiania, 1916. — *Koren, L.*, ed., Kirkelig kalender for 1920. Utgitt av den norske kirkes preste forening. 133 pp. Christiania, 1920. — *Moe, Olaf*, ed., Norges kirke. Med bidrag av flere teologer (Kirke og Folk, vols. VI & VII). 164 pp.

Christiania, 1919. — *Moller, Halfdan*, Peter Harun. Liv og virke. 135 pp. Christiania, 1914. — *Monrad, P. O.*, Biskop Johan Christian Huch skildret som personlighet. — *Sandberg, J. F.*, Norges prestegeld. 2 vols. I. Kristiania stift. xv, 431 pp. II. Hamar bispedomme. 258 pp. Frederikshald, 1918, 1919. — *Slattelid, K.*, Wexels forhold til skrift og bekjendelse ntidtil 1834 (NThT 1915, 27-57, 193-225). — *Sverdrup, Edvard*, Fra Norges kristenliv. Den norske Lutherstiftelse og Det norske lutherske indremissions-selskap 1868-1918. — *Uri, O. M.*, Den nidre sjomansmission gjennom 40 år (1880-1920). 487 pp. Bergen, 1920.

For the following notices I am indebted to Mr. Finn Bader, candidate in theology, and Dr. Sigmund Mowinckel, professor at Christiania (Oslo).

Sandberg has published the first two parts of a large statistical work which is to describe the condition of the churches and clergy in every parish in Norway. So far he covers the dioceses of Christiania and Hamar. — *Heggtveit's* voluminous work on the Norwegian church in the nineteenth century is rather an assemblage of information than a history. The material is not clearly arranged and the broad outlines are not evident. The opinions expressed are often superficial and one-sided. An excellent account of the sources is appended. — *Brandrud's* short survey of events in the church and in theology in recent years is from a liberal point of view, hence not quite impartial, but is well written. — The papers on church history and church conditions in Norway, written by several theologians under the editorship of *Moe*, are intended primarily for Danish readers. They are of varying excellence and often not quite impartial. *Moe's* account of theology in Norway is good. — The year book edited by *Brekke* contains more or less valuable chapters on ecclesiastical conditions in Norway and on practical theology. — *Koren's* church calendar gives statistics about the church offices (salaries, personal notices, etc.).

Kolsrud's history of the Norwegian Bible Society is written with his accustomed trustworthiness. His account of the decay of rationalism and the rise of romanticism is particularly valuable. — *Sverdrup* sketches the beginnings of the movement among the laity in Norway from the appearance of Hauge (see HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, 1924, p. 287) to the

present time, when this movement virtually controls home missions. — The work of the mission among the sailors and fishermen of Norwegian ports since 1880 is described in detail by *Uri*. — Since about 1870 a sect has been active in Norway whose members call themselves Blabogianer, 'Blue-book men.' In contrast to the revivalist methods of foreign origin, especially Methodism, this sect tries to revive the principles of Hauge. *Brun*, who writes the article here noticed and who is known as the author of works on rationalism and pietism, has recently died as Bishop of Hamar. — *Slattelid* gives a thorough study of the development of Wexel, a biblicist who attached himself to the doctrines of Grundtvig (see p. 180 above). — *Monrad's* account of Bishop Huch († 1904) lacks clearness and is not an adequate characterization of this champion of orthodoxy.

3. Sweden

Aulén, Gustaf, Martin Erik Ahlmann och Ebbe Gustaf Bring. En teologisk strid i Lund på 1840-talet. 67 pp. Lund, Gleerup, and Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1918. — *Billing, Gottfrid*, Henric Schartau. Minnesteckning. 96 pp. Lund, Gleerup, 1914. — *Brandt, Gustaf*, Carl Olof Rosenius. Ur ett utkast till en Roseniibiographi (KÅ 15, 1914, 332–380); Carl Olof Rosenii förkunnelse. En studie i svensk lekmannapredikan. Dissertation. viii, 231 pp. Stockholm, Diakonistyrelsen, 1918. — *Edquist, Carl*, Läseriet i Skellefte-bygden under 1800-talet. 166 pp. Stockholm, Diakonistyrelsen, 1917. — *Gränström, Olof*, Prästeståndets sista strid. Till kyrkomötets och kamrarnas femtioårsjubileum. vii, 194 pp. Lund, Gleerup, 1915. — *Hägglund, Henrik*, Henric Schartau. 128 pp. Stockholm, Diakonistyrelsen, 1914. — *Hallbäck, H. D.*, J. O. Hoof och Hoofianismen. En kyrkohistorisk studie (KÅ 15, 1914, 270–331; 16, 1915, 152–181). — *Hippel, Oscar*, Kyrkolagskommittén 1824–1846. En historisk och kyrkorättslig studie. Dissertation. xxxii, 380 pp. Gothenburg, N. P. Pehrsson, 1914. — *Liedgren, Emil*, Wallins läroår som psalmdiktare 1806–1812. Med en inledning om religionens plats i sjuttonhundratalspoesien och den estetiskt motiverade psalmboksreformen. Dissertation. xiv, 247 pp. Upsala, 1916 (Reprint from KÅ 1915–1917). — *Reuterdaahl, Henrik*, Bref till H. R. utgifna af G. Aulén. iv, 185 pp. Stockholm, Norstedt, 1916. — *Rohde, Edvard*, Kyrkan och nykterhetsrörelsen. En historisk studie. 152 pp. Upsala, Kristliga Studentenrörelsen, 1915. — *Sjöfors, O. T.*, Kanslärsgillet och 1807 års skolrodning. Dissertation. xvi, 281 pp. Karlskrona, 1919.

For the following notes I am indebted to Mr. Hilding Pleyel of Lund.

Aulén describes a very interesting theological controversy which took place in the period 1840–1850 between two promi-

nent theologians of the University of Lund—Ahlmann, who was chiefly influenced by Kant, and Bring, an important representative of Hegelianism. — *Billing* gives a brief review of the life and influence of the greatest religious personality of southern Sweden in the nineteenth century, Henric Schartau († 1825), who created a movement still active in the life of the church. — *Brandt* deals with the other great popular religious leader of Sweden, Carl Olof Rosenius († 1868), whose field was northern and central Sweden. In the article first mentioned he shows the relation of Rosenius to the general religious conditions of his time and gives an account of his religious development, especially of the influence upon him of Methodism and the Moravians. In the second and larger work, after an introductory chapter on the ministry of Rosenius, he undertakes a detailed analysis of his message, and closes with a comprehensive characterization of his type of piety. — *Edquist* goes back to original sources for his narrative of popular religious movements in northern Sweden during the nineteenth century, particularly the so-called “nyläsare” (‘new readers’), a reaction, proceeding from Moravian influences, against the legalistic and pietistic movement in that section called “Gammalläsare” (‘old readers’). — *Gränström* first tells of the origin of the Swedish Church Assembly (*kyrkomötet*) and then explains the attitude and especially the motives of the Swedish parliamentary clergy to the proposal that led to the reform of representation in 1865. — *Hallbäck* gives the first critical account of a movement made up of a combination of legalistic, pietistic, and Moravian elements which bore the stamp of the great popular preacher Jacob Otto Hoof († 1839), and which led the way for, and was finally absorbed into, two movements, namely that started by Schartau and the new evangelical movement. — *Hippel* has studied in detail the different attempts in the first half of the nineteenth century to create a revised and unified code of church law. — *Hägglund* writes a valuable monograph on Henric Schartau, mentioned above, which brings forward new sources of information and new and good historical points of view in regard to his appointment. — After an introductory sketch of the position of religion in the poetry of the

eighteenth century *Liedgren* describes the religious and poetical development of the great Swedish hymn-writer Wallin († 1839) in the earliest period of his poetry down to 1812. — Aulén, who wrote a monograph in 1917 on the eminent Swedish churchman *Henrik Reuterdaahl* († 1870), has here published a collection of letters addressed to Reuterdaahl. They are of great value for an acquaintance with the ecclesiastical and political life of his time. — *Rohde's* book on the Church and the Abstinence Movement, although brief, is very valuable for the inner history of the Swedish church in the nineteenth century. In the beginning the connection was close between the religious revival and the movement against alcohol; afterwards a kind of secularization, of which the causes are fully explained, crept into the abstinence movement. — *Sjöfors* describes the efforts for the reform of education which began with the formation in 1801 of the "Kanslärsgillet," or board of education, which worked out a new system of instruction embodying the ideas of the Enlightenment.

THE PSEUDO-JUSTINIAN "ORATIO AD GRAECOS"

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THE "Oratio ad Graecos" is to be found in the third volume of Otto's "Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum," and in Harnack's "Die pseudo-justinische Rede an die Griechen."¹ It represents itself as a defence for turning from the religion of the Greeks to the religion of the Logos, and presents its case most vigorously. The document opens with the traditional denunciation of the immoralities of the Greek gods and heroes, a purely Greek polemic which was begun at least as far back as Xenophanes. To this subject the author adds nothing, but presents an excellent epitome of the usual arguments. He then discusses the current way of living among the Greeks, and says that he rejected it with loathing; he justifies his opinion with a half-dozen vivid statements about Greek practices. From commenting upon the Greek religion and morality he turns in contrast to describe with equal pithiness the high moral and spiritual character of his new faith, exhorting his former associates to find the same peace and exaltation which the change has meant to him. The writer has remarkable power of going to the heart of what he discusses.

The document depends entirely upon its own testimony for its date and classification. Only one manuscript copy came down to us, that in the Codex Argenteratensis (burned in 1870), in which the Oratio received an impossible ascription to Justin Martyr, corresponding to a work of similar title ascribed to Justin by Eusebius. There is, indeed, in the statements of the Oratio about the Logos, a close resemblance to some of Justin's ideas; but that Justin was capable of saying so much to the point in so small a compass is incon-

¹ Sitzungsberichte, Berlin Academy, 1896, pp. 634 ff.

ceivable. With this evidence for authorship discredited, there is no further tradition whatever to help us in identifying or dating the document. Harnack has investigated the date, and decides that it could not well be later than 240, because, as he ingeniously points out, paederasty is mentioned by the author as a shameful practice, but not as a breach of law. In this way it would have been alluded to until 240, when for the first time a law was instituted against this vice. At the same time Harnack alleges that the conception of the Logos is so advanced as to make an earlier date than 180 unlikely, and consequently he thinks that the date of the document falls between 180 and 240. With this Bardenhewer agrees. That the document is not later than 240 is made probable by Harnack's suggestion; but that the Logos-passage could not have been written before 180 is not so convincing. To this passage I will try to show that Harnack has not paid sufficient attention.

So far as the first four chapters of the *Oratio* are concerned, in which the immoralities of the Greek gods and of the Greek manners are set forth, they might have been written by a convert to almost any philosophic sect at any time after the third century B.C., and need not detain us. The last chapter, the fifth, is the only one in which positive remarks are made about the writer's own faith. It reads as follows:

Henceforth, ye Greeks, come and partake of incomparable wisdom (*σοφία*), and be instructed by the divine Logos, and learn to know the incorruptible king, and recognize his heroes who never slaughter whole nations. For he, our captain, does not desire strength of bodies and beauty of forms, nor the haughtiness of high birth, but a pure soul fortified by holiness. And indeed the divine Logos has ceaseless care over us, and teaches us both the pass-words of our king and divine deeds. Oh thou soul which has been permeated with the power of the Logos! Oh trumpet of peace in the soul torn by conflict! Oh city of refuge from terrible passion! Oh teaching that quenches the fire within the soul! This instruction does not make us poets, it does not train us as philosophers, nor as skilful orators, but when it has been learned, it makes mortals become immortals, human beings gods, and from earth leads to the realms beyond Olympus. Come ye, and be instructed. Become as I am now, for I was like you. These things captured me, the divine inspiration of the instruction, the power of the Logos. For as a skilful snake-charmer makes the terrible serpent creep out of its hole, and puts it to flight, so the Logos drives from the recesses of the soul the terrible sensual affec-

tions: first lust, through which every horror is born, enmities, strifes, envy, intriguing, anger, and such like. So when lust has gone forth the soul becomes serene and calm. And when the soul is relieved from the evils that flow about its neck, it returns to him who made it. For it must be restored whence it departed.²

The first and most striking fact about this fine description of the power of the Logos to release the soul from the tyranny of the lower nature is that it contains no hint of Christ, or any syllable that is distinctively Christian. And yet, so far as I have been able to ascertain, this obvious point has never been noticed. Found with Christian writings, its Christian character has gone unchallenged. It is this matter which I wish particularly to discuss.

At first sight the Logos-passage, and with it the whole document, might well appear to be the product of any of the late Platonic or Eclectic mystics, for it fits in perfectly with the Logos-ideas of both Plutarch and Cornutus. But the general tenor of the Oratio is against this. The Eclectics never, to my knowledge, set off such an antithesis as is here made between the gods of Greece and the Logos. They rather sought to find the Logos in mythology by allegorizing the ancient myths. So, to say nothing of the Hermetic literature proper, the identification of Hermes and the Logos was a common device of the Stoic "adaptation" of mythology. Cornutus says expressly: "And, as it happens, Hermes is the Logos, whom the gods sent us from heaven, making, of all living creatures on the earth, man alone to be rational."³ It is hardly necessary to quote from Plutarch. His identification of Osiris with the Logos, for instance, is a familiar example of his attitude toward popular mythology. Even Plato, fiercely as he denounced the gods, and peremptorily as he banished Homer from his Republic, preserved in the Timaeus their purified replicas as intermediate deities.

The presumption, then, from the sharp contrast of the gods and the Logos is that the document did not come from

² The translation is made from the text as printed by Harnack.

³ Cornutus, c. 16 (ed. Lang, p. 20), following the text as altered by E. Krebs, *Der Logos als Heiland im ersten Jahrhundert*, Freib. i. B., 1910, p. 34, n. 2.

the pen of a pagan philosopher. But another school of thought, hellenistic Judaism, did scornfully reject the mythology of the Greeks for a pure devotion to the Logos. To the Jews in the Diaspora the legends of the immoralities of the gods were of course particularly distasteful. They preached openly that such mythology must be rejected before a true knowledge of God was possible. So, for instance, Josephus reproaches the Greeks for ascribing "sodomitical practices to the gods themselves," and representing that "the gods married their own sisters, contriving this apology for their own strange unnatural lusts."⁴ In another passage Josephus refers to Plato's expulsion of the gods from the Republic.⁵ The polemic against Greek mythology in the *Oratio* is thus quite compatible with the spirit of hellenistic Judaism. Unquestionably, in preaching against polytheism, the Greek reproaches against mythological immorality would be as handy a weapon for hellenistic Judaism as they proved later for early Christianity.

But more positive evidence for the nature of the *Oratio* is to be found in the Logos-passage itself. Here the soul of man is represented as a divinely pure creation which is sunk to the neck in evils. It is subject to sensual passions, whose affections produce states in the soul which change its fundamental nature, essentially pollute its pristine purity, and hence estrange it from Him who made it. Only one thing can change this tragic apostasy. Man must appeal for help to the divine Logos, and listen to its instruction. As one does so there comes to him a mystic knowledge with active power of its own to chase the evils of sense from the soul. Like enchanted serpents the sins creep forth and go away. The conflict of spirit is stilled by a trumpet of peace, the fire of the soul is quenched. No information is given which will make one wise in worldly wisdom, but the mystic password by which man rises beyond humanity and himself becomes divine. For by its nature the soul must necessarily return to Him who made it, if it is to be freed from sensual slavery. In such a restitution, and so alone, is peace to be found. The Logos is

⁴ C. Apion, ii, 275, ed. Niese; cf. ii, 242 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 256.

a city of refuge, where the pursuing passions cannot follow; it is an incorruptible king, whose presence in the soul drives out all sin.

The figure of the Logos as a city of refuge undoubtedly has its source in Judaism rather than paganism. The word *φευγαδεντήριον* used in the Oratio is the familiar Septuagint word for cities of refuge, and these cities were taken by Philo as the basis for one of his most beautiful Logos-passages. In his treatise "De fuga et inventione" (§§ 91 ff.) Philo has a fine description of the mystic purification of the soul. The soul, he says, must strip off from itself its base affections, first the body, then the *λόγος προφορικός* (speech), in order that the *λόγος κατὰ διάνοιαν* (reason) alone may be left. Thus freed, the highest part of man can in purity embrace true Being (*τὸν μόνον ὄν*) "in such a way that it can not be separated." Philo now changes the figure, and represents this liberation of the highest part of the soul as a flight to the cities of refuge. "These," he says, "are very beautiful and well-walled cities, the best possible refuge for souls worthy of eternal salvation" (§ 96). The six cities are all explained as being powers of descending value from the first city, which is the divine Logos. There were three cities provided on each bank of the River Jordan by the law. Those on the Canaan side, where the majority of Israelites lived, were of course more readily accessible to an unfortunate person hotly pursued by avengers. These three, therefore, are explained by Philo as places of refuge from the rougher passions, adapted to the majority of men, whose lives are lived on a low plane and hence have little reserve with which to meet bodily temptations. Such people need immediate help. The first city on the Canaan side is thus explained by Philo to be the negative injunctions of the Jewish law, which is the part of the Jewish system most easily understood. Even the most ignorant man can be controlled by specific prohibitions. It is still on the lower plane, but one step in advance brings to the positive injunctions of the Torah, which he calls the second city, and one step farther still to the third city, where man finds refuge from the sins of his life in an experience of God's tender mercy. All three of

these cities, or refuges, are so close to all men as almost to touch their daily lives. But across the great divide of life, which separates between an animal and a reasonable way of living, is a refuge from animal temptation in the activity of the mind. To Philo this was graphically illustrated by the cities of refuge beyond the Jordan accessible only to the few permanent residents of the other side, men who lived habitually contemplative lives, and to those whose passions harassed them so slightly that they had time to get over to the other side. The first city of refuge here Philo explains as being the kingly power of the Logos, by which he seems to mean a mystic apprehension of the divine majesty, which must result in a compelling fear of God that will overpower all evil desires. Higher than the majesty is the next city, which is represented as being a mystic apprehension of the creative power of the Logos, which Philo here says is the power commonly called God by Moses. For an apprehension of that creative power which out of its own goodness has made the world, including man, will awaken not fear but a spontaneous love for the author of our being. Philo does not here use the phrase, but he has in mind the recognition of the fatherhood of God as a more exalted experience than the recognition of his kingliness or majesty, and suggests the powerful effect upon a man's life which the apprehension of God's fatherhood must exercise. But all these five are lesser manifestations of the Logos, the mind of God, which is the sixth city. Greater than the majesty or love of God, or the merciful provisions of the law, is the mind itself of God. "Therefore," says Philo, "Moses urges him who is able to run swiftly, to stretch out without stopping for breath to the most exalted divine Logos, who is the source of wisdom, in order that by drawing from the flowing source he may win the prize of eternal life instead of death."⁶

It seems plain that in making the cities of refuge to be a

⁶ § 97. One familiar with Philo will recognize that in this passage Philo is adapting to the Old Testament account of the cities of refuge his famous doctrine of the descending powers of the Logos as described in *Quaest. in Exod.* ii, 68; Harris, *Fragments of Philo*, p. 67. Paul's race to the goal in *Phil.* 3, 13 finds here a striking parallel.

symbol of experience of the Logos, the author of the Oratio could only have been drawing upon hellenistic Judaism.

Another figure of the Logos in the Oratio is found in the representation of the Logos not as a place of refuge but as a power coming into the soul of man and cleansing him from evil. Does man himself, in hellenistic Judaism, have to be able to run to the inaccessible sixth city in order to find the Logos and experience its power, or does the Logos meet the seeker half way? It is first to be noticed that in the Oratio the Logos comes to man, and charms and drives from his soul by a mystic power all the sins and passions of the senses, but apparently only after he has himself turned to the Logos. There is no prevenient grace in the Oratio, for it is the clear implication of the spirit of the exhortation that only when man of his own will leaves his sins and turns to the Logos can he hope for any help from the Logos.

We have but to turn a page in Philo from the passage I have just been citing to find a similar representation of man as needing only to forsake his will for sin and seek the Logos, in order to have the Logos come and drive out sin from his life entirely. Here Philo is still discussing the cities of refuge, and now he takes up the additional element that a fugitive must remain in the city until the death of the high priest. This Philo interprets by shifting his ground. The high priest is of course identified with the Logos. From Philo's point of view the question is how long we may remain in the city of escape from the life of sense. He answers that we may remain until the high priest, the Logos, dies. The death of the Logos, he explains, is the departure of the Logos from the soul, for of course, properly speaking, the Logos cannot die. But

so long as this most sacred Logos lives and survives in the soul, any involuntary error (change) is powerless to return into it; for the Logos has by nature no share in any sin, and is incapable of contamination from it. . . . For if by the vigorous indwelling of the Logos sin was dispossessed, so, when the Logos departs, sin by all means comes back in. For the blameless high priest, who is a reproof (*ἐλεγχος*) of sin, enjoys from nature the elect honor that a slip of purpose never finds place in him. Wherefore it is right to pray that that should live in the soul which is at once the high priest, king, judge,

and reproof, who having been elected to jurisdiction over the whole of our minds is never put to shame by any of those led in for its judgment (§§ 117 f.).

Philo has badly mixed his figures here, but the sense is sufficiently plain. Before the incorruptible purity of the Logos, which comes into a man who wishes to turn from sin, all sin vanishes ashamed. As Philo says further on in the same treatise, the Logos nourishes the soul, illuminates and sweetens it (§§ 137, 139). The author of the *Oratio* and Philo thus agree in believing that if a man will turn from his sin and pray to the Logos, the Logos will answer by coming to live in his soul. Once in the soul, the presence of the Logos is so sweetening and illuminating that sin dare not remain or try to enter. Indeed, when thus blessed by the Logos, a man cannot fall even into slips of purpose, unless the Logos first be dismissed from the soul. The passages in Philo and the *Oratio* are in perfect agreement as to the function of the Logos, and in their attitude toward it. But further comparison shows a still more detailed resemblance.

For the Logos is represented in the *Oratio* as a captain, *στρατηγός*, that is, as our leader in the struggle with evil. With this figure goes that of the Logos as having ceaseless watch over us. Both figures are military. Philo wrote similarly about the divine help which is ready to assist men in the struggle of life:

Again, when you see in the wars and disasters of life God's merciful hand and power (*χείρα καὶ δύναμιν*) hovering over you and defending you, be silent, for this ally (*βοηθός*) has no need of assistance in the fight. And the witness of this fact is the statement of the Holy Scriptures, "The Lord will fight for you, and you shall be silent" (Ex. 14, 14). So if you see the legitimate offspring and first-born of Egypt being destroyed (Ex. 11, 5), that is, lust, pleasure, pain, fear, iniquity, frivolity, and riotous living, then be silent in awe, shrinking before the fearful power of God. "For," say the Scriptures, "not a dog shall move his tongue, from man down to the beast" (Ex. 11, 7). Which is to say that it is not fitting that the doglike tongue, with its howling and barking, should vaunt itself, nor should the man in us, the dominating mind, do so, nor the bestial creature, the senses, when the ally comes wholly from outside and of his own accord to shield us, after that which is peculiarly ours has been destroyed.⁷

⁷ De Somniis, ii, 265-267.

Philo here speaks of the *χείρα καὶ δύναμιν* of God and does not specify the Logos. But in this *δύναμις* anyone familiar with his writing will recognize the divine Logos. In representing the Logos as a military aid, the Oratio is thus quite in accord with hellenistic Judaism.

Still another figure of the Oratio is that the Logos is a doctrine, of automatic power to help the soul. The conception is clearly that which gnosticism and the mystery religions had in common, that of a saving knowledge epitomized in passwords. The conception was early taken into Christianity and finally used with great force by Clement of Alexandria. But that it had long before been assimilated by hellenistic Judaism has, I think, been clearly demonstrated by Friedländer in his dissertation entitled "*Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*" (Berlin, 1898). I refer to only two passages in Philo, not mentioned, I think, by Friedländer, one where Isaac with only one wife and no concubine is contrasted with Abraham who had both Sarah and Hagar. Abraham, Philo explains, represents here one who had to supplement his inadequate grasp of divine things (Sarah) by turning to earthly wisdom (Hagar). But Isaac was satisfied with Rebecca because she was at once virtue and a divinely given knowledge, which needed no completion in concubine arts, whose offspring are bastard doctrines.⁸ In another passage Philo says that true doctrine, *ὁρθὸς λόγος*, comes to man not by seeking in the wells of the earth (human science), but as a blessed shower from heaven of divine knowledge, which not only waters the best vegetables growing in the soul, but is itself a rain of manna coming ready to eat, saving man from starvation in the desert.⁹ The manna is of course the Logos as well as the *ὁρθὸς λόγος*. So, in representing the Logos as a saving knowledge, the Oratio is again quite in accord with hellenistic Judaism.

Directly suggestive of hellenistic Judaism is also the identification of *σοφία* with the Logos.

⁸ De congressu quaerendae eruditionis gratia, 34 ff.

⁹ A free paraphrase of Quod deus sit immutabilis, 152 ff. From Hans Windisch, Die Frömmigkeit Philos, Leipzig, 1909, p. 31, n. 5.

The list of sins of the flesh in the *Oratio* is a typical hellenistic Jewish borrowing from Stoicism. Lietzmann¹⁰ has noted over two dozen such lists in Philo, besides lists in the *Wisdom of Solomon* and *4 Maccabees*. One such I have already quoted.

The *Oratio* closes with a striking statement of mystical consummation: "And when the soul is released from the evils which flow about its neck, it returns to him that made it. For it must be restored whence it departed." The author may mean here either the mystical consummation in this life, or he may be referring to what happens at death to one whom the *Logos* has purified. For though the *Logos* can and does purify the soul, yet so long as man is in the body he is still surrounded, if no longer permeated, with fleshly evils. It needs no demonstration to point out that this was the usual heaven looked for in hellenistic Jewish literature from the *Wisdom of Solomon* on. While the Palestinian Jew and after him, with some modification, the Christian looked for a resurrection of the dead, and an immortality in company with his beloved body (for of this love the Palestinian Jew was not ashamed), the hellenistic Jew more usually expected at death to be freed from the filthy prison of his body, and to return to an eternal consummation of mystic communion with the *Logos*, or with God himself.

So while I find no literary parallelism to indicate that the author of the *Oratio* used Philo as a direct literary source, the parallelism of ideas is certainly very close. According to both writers the *Logos* is σοφία, the military conqueror and protector in the soul's warfare, an incorruptible king, a city of refuge from sin, a power whose pure presence in the soul drives out all sensual desire, and a mystic knowledge which is itself empowered to overcome evil; both look for release after death to effect a return to the soul's spiritual source. Clearly the author of the *Oratio* must have been trained in a hellenistic Jewish school. But was he also a Christian? As I have pointed out, there is no mention of Christianity, and I can find no shred of specifically Christian thought. In second-century Christian documents, as for example in Justin, the

¹⁰ Handbuch zum Neuen Testament: Römerbrief, pp. 34 f.

same philosophy of life presents itself, mixed with many foreign elements, but (what is most important) in the process of syncretization with the conception of Jesus as the Son of God. Had the *Oratio* been written by a Christian, the point brought out in such an exhortation to former Greek associates as we have here would have been the identity of Jesus Christ with the Logos which can thus transform the soul.

Harnack, in speaking of the Logos-passages, compares it to Clement of Alexandria's Logos.¹¹ As is well known, Clement's Logos is avowedly developed directly from Philo's writings. In one respect, however, Philo's Logos is distinguishable from Clement's, namely in Clement's repeated insistence that the Logos was incarnate in Christ. Indeed, in the Syriac recension of the *Oratio* which Harnack has discussed in detail, the one essential difference between the two documents has not been noticed at all by Harnack, namely, the fact that the author of the recension is obliged to supplement the original with the statement that he is turning from Greek mythology specifically to Christianity. As I have pointed out elsewhere,¹² the distinguishing difference between hellenistic Jewish and Christian apologetic is that hellenistic Jewish apologetic takes the Logos as needing no demonstration, and centres its attention upon monotheism, while Christian apologetic pays less attention to monotheism, because it had to face the reproaches of all who understood the Greek Logos-doctrine, that in identifying the Logos with Christ it was simply talking ignorant nonsense. So the *Oratio*, as an explanation to Greeks for becoming a Christian, answers not a single question that the Greeks would have raised, and indeed it would not have been recognized by a Greek as referring to Christianity at all. As an explanation, however, for becoming a "God-fearer" in a Philonic synagogue, the document is consistent and admirably pithy.

It seems to me then plain that we have here not a Christian document at all but the speech or letter of some Greek convert to hellenistic Judaism addressed to his former

¹¹ *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin Academy, 1896, p. 646.

¹² In my *Theology of Justin Martyr*, Jena, 1923, pp. 139-142.

associates. That throughout the Diaspora many such converts found in Greco-Jewish mysticism a haven which nothing else could offer them is well known. That many of them were God-fearers who accepted the ethics and mysticism of hellenistic Judaism without its legal code and circumcision is equally familiar. It would rather be surprising that the writings of these people (for some of them must have written) should have completely disappeared, than that a document from such a source should now be discovered.

Thus far I have ignored one very important aspect of the Oratio. In the brief Logos-passage there are apparently two direct though unacknowledged quotations from Paul's letter to the Galatians. The first is, "Become as I am, for I also was as you," *γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ γὰρ ἦμην ὡς ὑμεῖς*, which corresponds exactly to Gal. 4, 12, except that all manuscripts of Galatians lack *ἦμην*. Again, a few lines below this sentence in the Oratio is the list of sins from which the presence of the Logos frees the soul: "Enmities, strifes, jealousy, factions, wraths, *καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις*," which again corresponds exactly to a part of Paul's list of the works of the flesh in Gal. 5, 20; 21, ending like Paul's list with *καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις*. Here some literary dependence is unmistakable.

The significance of the similarity becomes still more striking when the context in Galatians is studied. Paul has been urging the Galatians to stand fast in their new liberty in Christ, which he has won for them in freeing them from slavery to the *στοιχεῖα*, the elements of this world, which, he insists, are not gods in the proper sense at all. The argument of Lietzmann¹³ seems to me conclusive that Paul is here classing the Jewish feasts, set according to movements of heavenly bodies, with heathen worship of the stars as gods. He is urging the Greek Christians not to turn to Jewish rites, because such a change would be essentially but a reversion to their old worship of the gods, while Paul has been leading them to a pure worship in the Spirit of Christ. True freedom is to be found only by walking in the Spirit, whereby we may cease pro-

¹³ Handbuch zum Neuen Testament: An die Galater, 1910, p. 246.

ducing the fruits of the flesh to produce the fruits of the Spirit. Therefore become as I am, Paul urges, who was once as you are. The entire argument in the latter part of Galatians is thus very similar to the fundamental plea of the Oratio, while the two verbal parallels make it clear that the connection was direct.

The question then which must be decided is whether Paul used the Oratio, or the author of the Oratio used Galatians. I am convinced that Paul used the Oratio, for while his argument is entirely consistent as an adaptation of an older hellenistic Jewish argument as found in the Oratio, it is inconceivable that a Christian would use the argument of Galatians, as he must have done were the Oratio a Christian production. If the Oratio is a Christian argument based upon Galatians, the author for some reason has carefully rejected all mention of Christ to return to a non-christian Logos doctrine. He has introduced specifically hellenistic Jewish imagery to describe the Logos in a purely Philonic fashion. He has taken a part of Paul's list of the works of the flesh, but omitted Paul's beautiful list of the fruits of the Spirit, though this would have fitted strikingly with his argument. On the other hand, if Paul is using the Oratio, he has christianized it, and adapted it to fit a group of people threatening to go over to Jewish legalism. He has supplemented the list of the works of the flesh in the Oratio, and balanced it with the fruits of the Spirit. The saving Logos has become the Spirit of Christ. That is to say, if Paul was using the Oratio we have a natural and intelligible adaptation for Christian purposes of some ideas which he found in an hellenistic Jewish document. If the author of the Oratio was a Christian who knew Galatians, the way in which Galatians is used is inconceivably forced and artificial. The only conclusion which the two documents seem to me to permit is that Galatians is later than the Oratio, and that Paul knew it and used both ideas and phraseology from it.

A *tertium quid* would be that the Oratio is an hellenistic Jewish document, but written after, and using, Galatians. But hellenistic Judaism seems to have been thoroughly disorganized

by the preaching of Paul. For while we have mention of *σεβόμενοι* in Josephus,¹⁴ there is no indication that after the spread of Christianity Judaism presented itself to outsiders in any such form as is to be found in Philo and the Oratio. The clash with Christianity shortly led the Jews even to reject the Septuagint, which had come to be the symbol alike of hellenistic syncretism and Christianity, and to supplement it by new and more literal translations. We have no trace or hint of a post-Christian hellenistic Judaism, and such a group must be invented if it is to be the background of the Oratio. We are thus driven back to our dilemma between an author of the Oratio who was a Christian and used Paul, but eliminated all trace of Christianity from his argument so as to produce a purely hellenistic Jewish document, and on the other hand one who was an hellenistic Jew writing a treatise later used by Paul.

If I am right in taking the latter alternative, there remains the question of date. I should incline to set the date in the first fifty, perhaps the first twenty-five, years of the Christian era, though it might have been written earlier. The author seems to represent an advanced stage of hellenistic Judaism, which it is difficult to put much before Philo and which was probably nearly contemporary with him. With no external testimony a closer dating would be entirely arbitrary.

¹⁴ Antiq. xiv, 110 (Niese). Cf. Schürer, Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, II, ii, pp. 314 ff.